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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-065
Thursday
6 April 1989

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FBIS-EEU-89-065 *6 April 1989*

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GDR, USSR Forces To Hold Exercise 15-21 Apr

LD0504120389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1124 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A troop exercise by the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSSD) and the National People's Army of the GDR (NVA) is to take place between 15 and 21 April in the areas of Treuenbrietzen, Jessen, Cottbus, Eisenhuettenstadt, and Teupitz. Up to 18,500 members of the fraternal armies will take part in it. The leader of the exercise is the commander of an army of the GSSD.

The exercise is aimed at perfecting the level of troops' training and improving the management and cooperation of troops in defense.

In the annual summary of military activities on GDR territory for 1989, the exercise was announced to all the states of the Stockholm conference. Observers from these countries were invited.

CSSR's Vaclavik, Pact's Lushev Hold Talks

AU2903133789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[CTK report: "On Topical Questions of the Military-Political Situation"]

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, received Army General Petr Lushev, the new commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, who is on a brief working visit to Czechoslovakia, in Prague on Friday [24 March].

In a comradely conversation, M. Jakes congratulated P. Lushev on his appointment to the important post and wished him much success in implementing tasks connected with strengthening the coordination between the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact member states. [passage committed]

The reception was attended by Army Gen Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, and Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

The same day Petr Lushev was received by Milan Vaclavik. The two representatives discussed topical questions concerning the present military-political situation, its consequences for ensuring the defensive capability of the member states of our defensive alliance, and improvements in the structure of the Joint Armed Forces. They paid particular attention to questions concerning the one-sided reductions in troops and armaments and organizational changes in the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states. M. Vaclavik briefed P. Lushev on the realization of these measures in the Czechoslovak People's Army [CPA]. He stressed that the organizational changes make new demands on combat preparedness and readiness and on the quality of the troops' training and education in the spirit of the requirements arising from the defensive military doctrine and from the efforts to reinforce the process of detente in international relations and in the military sphere. This is while the CSSR military must also consistently attend to the country's defensive capability and to ensuring its socialist development.

M. Vaclavik and P. Lushev noted that from an analysis of the current military-political situation arises the need to continue to pay attention to the improvement of military cooperation among the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states. The CSSR minister of national defense emphasized that the CPA, which is a firm link in the Warsaw Pact's defensive structure, will continue to comprehensively contribute to strengthening the international combat alliance and to fulfill its tasks arising from this alliance.

The talks were attended by Army Gen Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states; Colonel General Nikolay Zotov, senior representative of the commander in chief of the Joined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states assigned to the CSSR minister of national defense, and representatives of the CPA command.

The same day Petr Lushev, accompanied by Milan Vaclavik, carried out a solemn ceremony at the National Memorial in Prague-Zizkov.

P. Lushev ended his visit to the CSSR and left Czechoslovakia on Friday.

Bulgarian Envoy Petrov Discusses Vienna Talks
AU0404143389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Apr 89 p 6

[Article by Ambassador Lyuben Petrov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the Vienna talks: "The Vienna Talks—Agreements Are Possible"]

[Text] The talks of the 23 states on conventional weapons, and of the 35 on confidence- and security-building measures, began dynamically in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. The good start was facilitated by the 6-8 March meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs which enriched the notions and visions on the stands, intentions, and future actions of the participants.

The proposals related to the two sets of talks and introduced by the Warsaw Pact and NATO on the 1st day, and the concrete debate that began, demonstrated many close or coinciding elements but also some differences. While some of the differences can be easily eliminated, the rest require the readiness and willingness to compromise. A promising start: This is how some of the participants assessed the first round of talks.

The proposals submitted to the talks of the 23 reflect the common understanding of the need to reduce the most destabilizing kinds and categories of weapons, to eliminate the asymmetries, determine collective levels for the various kinds of arms of the two alliances—these must be lower than the existing lowest levels—establish a comprehensive and effective system of verification, and so on.

However, there are differences even in the coinciding elements, and some of them are even essential. Therefore, for example, the proposal submitted by NATO envisages reducing only three categories of weapons—tanks, artillery, and armored personnel carriers—categories in which the Warsaw Pact has an advantage, while excluding tactical (front) aircraft and combat helicopters, areas in which NATO has an advantage. It would be easy to imagine the reaction of the West if the socialist countries had proposed to reduce only those weapons in which NATO has an advantage.

NATO does not envisage reducing the personnel of its armed forces and is indefinitely postponing measures related to giving the armed forces a strict defensive character by dismantling their offensive-strike structures.

In addition, the figures and "concentric circles" (in fact, geographic regions) that NATO uses to divide the zone from the Atlantic to the Urals testify to the intention to obtain unilateral advantages. At the same time, they do not envisage creating reduced-arms zones along the line of contact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, as the Warsaw Pact proposes.

Undoubtedly, determining the regions in the zone of talks is of great importance in achieving equal security for the states. This also corresponds to the requirements of the mandate on removing regional differences. However, the "concentric circles" have been artificially created and preserve the regional inequality with the ensuing consequences for the security of the individual countries or groups of countries. For example, one of these circles unites Iceland and Norway with Turkey and Greece, while Bulgaria and Romania are treated separately. Another circle combines the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, with the CSSR, the GDR, and the Polish People's Republic.

The equal security of the participating states requires not only an equally lower level of weapons but also the redeployment of troops and weapons. Therefore, the socialist countries attach great importance to decreasing the concentration of armed forces and weapons in the region of contact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and to thinning out their strike elements.

The Warsaw Pact member states attribute great importance to the relative share of the Bundeswher in NATO's collective forces, and Bulgaria attributes great importance to the relative share of Turkey's armed forces and arms.

Our proposal, unlike NATO's, also determines the stages of the reductions. During the first stage (1991-94) it is proposed to eliminate the asymmetries and to lower the level of arms to an equal ceiling 10-15 percent lower than the lowest existing level. During the second stage (1994-97) the armed forces of the countries will be reduced by an equal percentage, say 25 percent (500,000 troops on each side). In addition, toward the year 2000 (the third stage), the armed forces must be further reduced and acquire a strictly defensive character.

The NATO program does not envisage stages and terms of implementation.

While assessing the documents of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, many Western commentators point out the differences and evaluate the proposals.

Prof John Steibrunner of the U.S. Brookings Institute describes the Warsaw Pact proposals as "solid, superbly argued, and firm.... They encompass more categories of weapons than do NATO's proposals. They begin precisely with the factors that NATO has left out—the aircraft of strike air forces—and then continue with tanks, helicopters, armored personnel carriers, artillery, and troops. NATO's proposal is more reserved."

Reducing tactical strike aircraft emerged as the most difficult problem in the talks of the 23.

There are also close and coinciding elements in the documents of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on confidence- and security-building measures.

Adherence to the principle of openness [otkritost] and glasnost has been expressed as a precondition for strengthening confidence between the states and increasing security on the continent. The need to further develop and expand the measures contained in the Stockholm document has been acknowledged. Some of the measures on information, proposed by NATO, coincide with our proposal to create a center for reducing the military threat and preventing a first strike in Europe. The requirements on improving verification, improving the work of military observers and inspectors, comparing military doctrines, and other issues of military policy also coincide.

There are two basic differences: The Warsaw Pact's proposal contains measures related to limiting military activity in peacetime. All measures encompass the activity of naval and air forces.

NATO's proposal excludes naval forces, and relates only partly to air forces. In addition, it contains no limiting measures. In essence, all measures of this proposal are reduced to providing information.

Some NATO representatives described the Warsaw Pact's proposals at the talks of the 35 as "ambitious," and their own proposals as "moderate and realistic."

We are proposing a "new generation of measures on confidence and security." This proposal accords with the positive changes that have taken place in Europe. Who could have imagined at the opening of the Stockholm conference that it would end with such a concluding document, one that without exception was positively assessed by all the ministers of foreign affairs? The Vienna document would have been impossible in 1984 and 1986. The impossible became possible thanks to the new political thinking which the socialist countries and first of all the USSR have implemented in practical domestic and foreign policy. According to the telling sentence of one of the participants—what was taboo yesterday has become possible today.

The documents prepared at the Vienna talks relate not to the next 1-2 years but to the period until the end of the century. They must reflect not only the present situation, but also the trend for improved East-West relations. The needle of the barometer is firmly pointing at "clear" and "warm" weather.

It is very indicative that the conference of the leading figures of the member parties of the Socialist International, which took place at the Hofburg palace on 9 and 10 March, adopted a resolution on disarmament which contains proposals that coincide in many points with the proposals of the Warsaw Pact at the talks of the 23, and which in some points are even more radical. Therefore, it was proposed to mutually reduce weapons and armed forces to a level 50 percent lower than the present NATO level.

In presenting the Warsaw Pact proposals on security- and confidence-building measures on 9 March, the Bulgarian delegation stated that it does not view the proposals as ultimative or as having been frozen, and that we are also prepared to benevolently and constructively consider other proposals.

The beginning showed that complex and difficult talks, perhaps some of the most complex and difficult talks ever, lie ahead of us. They could end without any results. However, there are many indications that an agreement is possible, and that it could be reached at an early stage.

The next round of the talks, which begin on 5 May, will shed more light on this issue.

USSR Election Results Analyzed, Welcomed

AU0304141089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Apr 89 p 4

[Editorial article: "Party and Democracy"]

[Text] The elections for the Congress of USSR People's Deputies have not ended yet, but the main result is already known—the Soviet people voted for the political course of the CPSU, aimed at restructuring and democracy.

This is how Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, assessed the elections in his speech at the meeting with the leaders of the USSR mass media.

As no other all-people's political event has done, the elections impressively demonstrated what image the party must have in the new historic stage if it really wants to fulfill its calling as the political vanguard of Soviet society. Now, when strong and active forms of socialist democracy are being born daily, the party's authority can grow and strengthen not through instructions, directives, and pressure, the first Soviet leader warned, but only as a result of even greater dynamics in the work of the party organizations, expanding their relations with the people, and intensifying their support of the democratic processes and all the new factors produced by restructuring.

Indeed, we encounter here the ancient issue of the struggle with our ideological opponents, who have always declared the party to be an antipode of democracy. The unprecedented Soviet election campaign convincingly proved that democracy is both a means of attracting the people to the process of restructuring and a specific goal, because it is identical with the socialist idea of the people's government. The Soviet leader also pointed out that the goal of the political reform and restructuring in general is to truly ensure the effective participation of the Soviet people in managing the country's affairs under conditions of the law-governed state.

The lesson from the first election results is that those delegates who won think and act as an integral part of the people, are close to the people, have devoted all their forces to the moral healing of society and to the struggle against negative phenomena, and are tracing the road toward the new factors and asserting them in life. And vice versa—those candidates who failed to win the confidence of the people, according to Mikhail Gorbachev, had turned their offices into inaccessible bureaucratic fortresses, were restructuring slowly, failing to expand their relations with the people, and were treating the people disparagingly. Against the background of the broadly developing democratic process, the test of the elections showed that the people judge their leaders not on the basis of their instructions and directives, no matter how correct they are, but on the basis of their deeds, their civil position in support of restructuring, and their daily actions in support of restructuring's new victories and its influence over changing conditions of living and working for the better.

The predominant critical tone of the election campaign and the sharp negation of everything that hinders the renewal is not a weakness, but rather a strength of the democratic process. This criticism did not stress the negation itself, but concern for the fate of restructuring and a striving to accelerate it even more. Generally speaking, the exigence of the people is not a "weakness," but a force, a vital force of democracy, glasnost, and socialist pluralism.

Expressing decisive support for the processes of constantly strengthening democracy in society, and convinced that they are an integral part of the revolutionary transformation of the country, the Soviet voters simultaneously defended restructuring from the actions of the demagogues and anti-Soviet elements, and from the disseminators of speculations and useless political slogans, which have a single meaning—to deny the leading role of the party.

The political opponents of socialism view democracy as the opposite of the party and as its alternative.

The Soviet Communists and all Soviet people view democracy as a phenomenon that must merge with the party and with its revolutionary and transformative power.

The USSR is implementing a broad political reform. The democratization of Soviet society is taking place on the basis of the new laws that have been adopted. The Soviet people already sensed the power of this process and contributed their forces to it. The new historic period also poses highly responsible tasks to the mass media. In his speech, the Soviet party and state leader especially outlined the calling of the press, radio, and television to implement party and all-people's control over the implementation of the decisions that have been adopted. He defined the control of the mass media as the most powerful and open control.

Mladenov Talks With UN Drug Control Chief

AU3103141989 Sofia BTA in English 1341 GMT 31 Mar 89

["Bulgaria Struggles Actively Against Narcotics"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA)—Bulgaria intends to join the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control and will make her contribution to the success of its noble activity to the best of her powers, said Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, at the meeting he had here today with Mr Giuseppe di Gennaro, deputy secretary general of the United Nations and executive director of the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control.

Minister Mladenov underlined that Bulgaria strictly carries out her obligations ensuing from the International Convention on Narcotic-Containing Medicines of 1961 and the Convention on Psychotropic Substances of 1971 and that it has the most positive attitude towards the new UN Convention on the Struggle Against Trafficking in Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances, approved in December 1988, which Bulgaria is going to sign in the near future.

The Bulgarian foreign minister told about the unceasing strenuous work of the customs authorities and the other competent bodies for controlling the traffic of narcotics via Bulgaria. He said that Bulgaria is exerting every possible effort and will continue to do it in order to put an end to this criminal activity, proceeding mainly from humanitarian considerations, because drug addiction is not a serious problem in this country. The minister expressed his hope that the work of the competent Bulgarian authorities helps in cutting the deliveries of the "white death" to Western Europe and the countries beyond the Atlantic.

During the talks the two sides discussed the prospects and the main guidelines of the cooperation between Bulgaria and the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control, whose struggle against the organized criminal activity and the narcotic and psychotropic substances abuse Minister Mladenov highly appreciated. Mr Giuseppe di Gennaro thanked for having been given the opportunity to visit Bulgaria at the invitation of Minister Mladenov. He expressed his satisfaction with the talks he had with Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs and other state leaders, at which the main guidelines for Bulgaria's cooperation with the UN fund were defined. Mr Di Genaro informed the Bulgarian foreign minister about the activity of the fund. He hailed the resoluteness of Bulgaria to participate ever more actively in the efforts aimed at setting up a united international front of the struggle against organized criminal activity and narcotic addiction.

Atanasov Receives DPRK Health Minister

AU3103200789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Today Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Yi Chong-yul, minister of public health of the DPRK. The guest was briefed on our government's social policy and the new functions and tasks that the project on the main directions for further restructuring health care in Bulgaria pose for the Bulgarian medical workers.

Both sides expressed the desire to strengthen and develop cooperation in health care.

Economic Protocol Signed With CSSR in Sofia

AU3103155289 Sofia BTA in English 1459 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA)—A protocol on trade and payments in 1989 between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia was signed here today.

According to the protocol Bulgaria shall export to Czechoslovakia hoists, computer, organizational, hydraulic and pneumatic equipment and products of the heavy-current and the weak-current industries. Highly effective products of the mechanical engineering—metal-working, textile and road-constructing machines, machines for the chemical industry and products of the automobile industry will be imported from Czechoslovakia.

The trade in metallurgical raw materials and products will be continued this year, the trade in consumer goods between the state-run and cooperative organizations will be extended. According to the provisions contained in the protocol, it is expected that the turnover between the two countries in 1989 will come up to one milliard roubles' worth.

Former Radio Free Europe Employees Interviewed

AU0404144189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Mar 89 p 6

[BTA report on interview with former Radio Free Europe employees Pavel Glavusanov and Marusya Stoleva by Bulgarian journalists, broadcast by Bulgarian television on 30 March: "The Goal of Radio Free Europe Is To Erode Socialist Society"]

[Text] Sofia, 30 March (BTA)—Tonight Bulgarian television broadcast an interview with Pavel Glavusanov and Marusya Stoleva, former employees of Radio Free Europe [RFE] who just recently returned to Bulgaria, by journalists Nencho Khranov (BTA), Petur Bochukov (RABOTNICHESKO DELO), and Yavor Tsakov (Radio and Television Committee).

Glavusanov and Stoleva returned to Bulgaria on 26 March 1989. In their first statement to a BTA representative they declared: "Our decision to return to our homeland was the result of our profound disappointment with the conditions and working atmosphere at RFE, and with the difficult relations among Bulgarians working there, as well as with the arrogant behavior of the foreign employers toward their Bulgarian employees, who are forced to transform their betrayal of the motherland into a vocation and profession. "We made our decisive choice to put an end to our activities devoted to alien, anti-Bulgarian interests, among other things, under the impression of an extensive, purpose-oriented campaign conducted through RFE and other radio stations to attract slanderers of their own country among our compatriots living in Bulgaria and to involve them in

a hostile, anti-Bulgarian campaign which has nothing to do with the recently emerged, new spirit in relations between states and peoples."

In further elaborating on these thoughts, Glavusanov described relations within RFE, the gossip, intrigues, and squabbles, as well as the intolerably arrogant behavior of the American management toward the editors. Even the pettiest American bureaucrat can boss the editors around, he pointed out. Glavusanov went on to explain the reasons for his return to Bulgaria by saying that they were the results of a long and complicated process, related to the policy of RFE toward Bulgaria, generally speaking. This is not something I found out in 1 day; it has been accumulating over the years, he stated.

The Glavusanov-Stoleva duo pointed out the changes which have occurred in our country, such as glasnost and democracy, as the main factor influencing their decision. "We closely and carefully scrutinized the Bulgarian press. The things we read over the last months, over the last year, and even over more than a year inspired me with strength and confidence to engage in this action, which was rather bold, as you will agree," Glavusanov stated.

Answering a question related to the BBC interview with RFE Deputy Director William Marsh, who expressed doubts about the decision of the couple not to inform the radio station of their intent to return to Bulgaria, Glavusanov pointed out that because of his disputes with the Bulgarian and American RFE management on purely professional matters, he had been unjustly punished on two occasions and recently threatened by unknown persons, his car had been followed, and so forth. As a result of all this, he decided to select a more quiet way of departing.

Marusya Stoleva confirmed the statements made by her husband and colleague on their work. She said that in the last 2 years in particular, the working atmosphere in the Bulgarian section of RFE had deteriorated so much that at least the people with whom she had closer relations frankly admitted their total reluctance to come to work.

"It is difficult to work with people who are trying to humiliate you and ignore you on all occasions," she said. "You feel like a mere pawn, who is just asked to do his work and no more. We are absolutely powerless, unable to achieve anything whatsoever," she added.

Glavusanov explained his reasons for leaving Bulgaria nearly 7 years ago. These reasons were related to his personal failures and to the negative attitude of a person, invested with authority, against him.

He further described in detail how he was recruited for RFE. His employment was preceded by a debriefing and interrogation at the headquarters of the U.S. military intelligence in the Munich district of Giesing, right across the street from the U.S. McGraw Military Barracks. The interrogation was conducted by a colonel from military intelligence. The interest focused on certain topics. One of the chief elements of the debriefing was related to investigating the candidate's personality. The interrogators were interested in military subjects, in questions connected with civil defense, and the country's health services, such as details about the Pirogov Institute on Emergency Medical Assistance, and others.

Interest was also expressed about state security officials and military journalists, or as Glavusanov concluded: "Questions that have nothing to do with journalism."

Glavusanov was informed of his appointment to RFE by the same military intelligence colonel who debriefed him.

The journalist reported that he worked 1 and ½ years in the RFE programming section, after which he was transferred to the Bulgarian news section, where he remained until his departure from Munich.

He discussed the working methods at RFE and described a few examples of the selection and broadcast of information which is required by RFE policy and has nothing in common with objectivity.

According to Glavusanov, the news and commentaries are selected for the purpose of negatively influencing society in the socialist countries, and instigating it against the legitimate governments of those countries.

Positive changes in international relations are partly reflected only in regard to the language and style of the broadcast materials. "The language and style are changing, but the meaning remains the same. It could not be different, because the financial resources are granted to support this policy. This is the reason for RFE's existence, as a matter of fact, the former journalist from this radio station pointed out.

He also focused on the recently intensified activities of the Munich-based operation related to the so-called "telephone journalism": the intentional selection of certain individuals to ask for telephone interviews.

RFE broadcasts only critical remarks about Bulgaria.

Glavusanov cited the example of a Bulgarian citizen who called the radio station, saying that he was speaking on behalf of the average Bulgarian. "I am this average Bulgarian, I am an engineer, I receive so much salary, and my wife is such and such, I have two children. I have the impression that you are not interested in the improvement of the situation in Bulgaria, but in maintaining social tension. As an average Bulgarian, however, I am not interested in social tension. I want peace for myself, for my family, and my children," the citizen is reported as saying. This was a statement they did not broadcast, Glavusanov added.

On the basis of my observations at RFE, I reached the conclusion that people in the radio station are interested in publicizing all those phenomena in the countries to which they broadcast their programs, that confirm, to a certain extent, some elements of the Western social model, he declared. They are trying to make these elements popular. At the same time, they are trying to stir up opposing views between the different strata of the population in these countries.

Talking about the relations between Bulgarian RFE editors and the circles of hostile Bulgarian emigration in the West, the former employee of the radio station stated: "For example, I was a member of the Defense of Human Rights League abroad, which is placed under the leadership of someone called Statev or Statkov. I think his name is Dr Statev, and he lives in Rome. I attended two congresses of this league, after which I refused to go, because I realized it was nonsense. This Statev is a wealthy man who is just trying to satisfy his own vanity by managing some social organization in order to become famous." Statev himself has admitted that he was expelled from a congress of the International Human Rights League because his program includes the struggle for overthrowing the existing form of government in Bulgaria by force.

Glavusanov described the anticommunist stand of RFE during the Rome trial against Sergey Antonov and the efforts to discredit our country and spread pro-Turkish slander related to the situation of Bulgarian Muslims.

It was pointed out that RFE has approximately 1,700 employees. The radio station has an incredibly inflated and highly paid infrastructure. The "cadres" department alone consists of 61 people, with 1 chief director and 5 directors.

The Bulgarian section employs 40 people, including the director and his assistants. The salaries are very high and actually represent "the most convincing argument to those who earn such salaries to adopt the cause as just."

Glavusanov's salary amounted to DM 8,400 monthly, and together with M. Stoleva, earned approximately DM 13,000 (about $ 7,000) in addition to free housing, electricity, and heating.

All this by far exceeds the incomes of West German journalists in the same rank working for radio stations and newspapers.

The former editor of the U.S. radio station described the "research and analysis" service of the Bulgarian section. This service is in charge of carefully scrutinizing the Bulgarian daily and periodical press. It also carefully analyzes all telephone interviews and calls.

Marusya Stoleva adds: "They deal with everything concerning Bulgaria."

P. Glavusanov: " ....They are especially interested in the Horizont program, and in all other sources. If an interesting refugee arrives, for example, they interview him, and after that, they write reports on the situation in Bulgaria.

Such reports are dispatched to the United States—they are submitted to Congress, to the Pentagon, the CIA, and various major political research institutions. In addition to this, the service is sometimes entrusted with special assignments on certain subjects.

Glavusanov described the character of his colleagues from the RFE Bulgarian section by pointing out a common feature that applies to all of them, without exception. "In my opinion, this common feature is an extreme, I would even say, a pathological egotism, something that is quite incomprehensible to me. It is something that I could not get used to, and I do not think I ever would have. Egotism determines those people's social, professional, and political opinions inasmuch as they have any opinions at all.

"This is how I can describe their life philosophy," Glavusanov stated.

Last, but not least, M. Stoleva expressed her admiration for Munich, a city which greatly impressed her with its exceptional beauty and cleanliness, with its numerous parks and great facilities, especially for working women who are raising children at the same time.

Stoleva's husband and colleague declared, in turn, that the FRG offered him hospitality for which he is grateful. The journalist also shared his impressions on the negative attitude of the local population and of young people in particular toward RFE. "The general attitude toward the radio station is definitely negative," he stressed.

Telephone connections were established during the televised interview, enabling viewers to ask numerous questions pertaining to the activities of RFE as a tribune of anticommunist and antisocialist propaganda, and as an outdated institution—a remnant from the "cold war"—as well as about its efforts to manipulate certain people in our country. These questions will be dealt with in television programs in the following days, since answering them would have exceeded the program time.

Viewers' Questions Answered

AU0604071889 Sofia BTA in English
1954 GMT 5 Apr 89

["On the Anti-Bulgarian Activity of RFE"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 5 (BTA)—On March 30 Mr Pavel Glavusanov and Mrs Marusya Stoleva, former employees of Radio Free Europe who had returned recently to this country, spoke in detail on the Bulgarian television about the anti-Bulgarian and antisocialist essence of the

broadcasts of this mouthpiece of propaganda, a vestige from the cold war era. The televised interview was met with immense interest by the Bulgarian public. Viewers called in to ask more than 250 extra questions. In a second interview on Bulgarian television this evening, Mr Glavusanov answered many of the viewers' specific questions.

In reply to a question about the working arrangements in RFE he indicated that full obedience "in all respects" is required from the RFE employees the themes, the leaning and the essence of the commentaries are entirely determined by the administration. [sentence, punctuation as received]

Dwelling on the gathering and selection of information coming from Bulgaria, the former employee of the Munich-based radio station said that this kind of information is not subject to any confirmation whatsoever. Every phone call is broadcast, once it suits the RFE line hostile to Bulgaria.

Mr Glavusanov told about the activity of the Vienna-based Intora Agency uses Bulgarian tourists and people on business trips visiting Austria as sources of information. [sentence as received] The Intora questionnaires contain questions on the interest shown in Bulgaria in specific RFE broadcasts, but there are also other questions of a political character. This agency is, in fact, an extremely important factor in the financing of the radio station. It must convince the U.S. Congress that RFE has great influence and must get greater outlays. The other important thing about this agency in Vienna is that it is financed by the radio station itself.

Mr P. Glavusanov showed a memo instructing the RFE employees to request a special permission when they want to meet with Bulgarian citizens. If the meeting is approved they get instructions about the things they should say. "We were also forbidden to maintain contacts with Bulgarian officials," Mr Glavusanov went on to say.

Replying to the insinuations of RFE representatives, Mr Glavusanov stressed once again that they had had to leave Munich so hastily because of the pressure by the U.S. special services.

In answer to other questions, he characterized in greater detail the employees at the Bulgarian service of the radio station. "From a professional point of view, the personnel in the Bulgarian section is rather indifferent," he said. "Apart from some exceptions, these people are dilettantes in journalism."

Mr Glavusanov read an assessment from SVOBODNO ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, a magazine published in the U.S., about RFE which says that the aims of such radio stations are to undermine the political props of the existing regimes, to deprive the people's masses of their faith in the justice, strength, use and durability of these regimes. To undermine their moral, political and ideological foundations, to create difficulties, to wreak havoc and stir confusion among the ruling circles of the enemy side, to discredit the program, ideology, philosophy and policy. These are the aims of RFE and those are the criteria by which it is and will be judged by the Bulgarians abroad and in Bulgaria, the magazine wrote.

Mr Glavusanov spoke about some emigres convicted in Bulgaria on espionage charges and other subversive activities against the government, who are contributing to RFE. One of them, Mr Spether, lives in Israel and was convicted in Bulgaria on espionage charges. "He was a frequent visitor to the radio station."

Speaking about the RFE employee Vladimir Kostov, Mr Glavusanov displayed issues of BORBA, a magazine published in the U.S. by Ivan Dochev, the former chief of the Legion in Bulgaria, i.e. an active fascist. Articles written by Kostov are printed in the magazine. He is one of the editors who are actively committed to the broadcast of anti-Bulgarian propaganda and this activity of his outside RFE is deeply motivated by his resentment against socialist Bulgaria.

Answering a question about the antisocialist line of RFE at present, in the period of the new East-West relations, Mr Glavusanov said that "although the radio station has somewhat toned down its phraseology and the sharp edges have been smoothed out, it is nevertheless a vestige from an earlier period. It hasn't or has very little in common with the official line of Washington, of the Congress and the American Administration. It virtually opposes the processes which have been unfolding for some years now."

At the end Mr Glavusanov said that his family and he have returned for good to their country. He hopes to work as a translator from English. "I think that this is a good and neutral profession," he added in conclusion.

Dissident Hradilek Receives Suspended Sentence

LD0504172189 Prague CTK in English
1432 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Prague April 5 (CTK)—Tomas Hradilek was sentenced to a suspended 13-month jail sentence in Prerov, South Moravia, today.

The court accused Tomas Hradilek of writing letters in which he used formulations which can objectively cause hostile or unfavourable atmosphere against the socialist social and state system. He sent these letters to various bodies, institutions and news agencies. It was not proved if these institutions received his letters.

Tomas Hradilek and the prosecutor appealed against the sentence.

Further on Court's Decision

AU0504120389 Paris AFP in English
1143 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Prague, April 5 (AFP)—A spokesman for the Czechoslovak human rights movement Charter 77 was given a 13-month suspended prison sentence Wednesday for criticising political repression after demonstrations here in January.

The dissident group said Tomas Hradilek, 43, was found guilty of "inciting rebellion" by a court in Prerov, a city in the central Czechoslovakian province of Moravia.

The court said the offence was compounded by the fact it had been relayed through the mass media and could theoretically have carried a five year prison sentence.

Hradilek based his defense on the country's need for "prestvaba" a reform movement similar to Soviet perestroyka.

Mr. Hradilek was prosecuted for publishing two open letters critical of the government. The letters came shortly after police violently broke up a peaceful demonstration in January in memory of Jan Palach, a young student who committed suicide in 1969 to protest the crushing of the 1968 Prague Spring.

Both Mr. Hradilek and the prosecutor had appealed the sentence, said Charter 77.

Jakes Delivers Closing Speech at CPCZ Plenum

AU0504111789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Apr 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Education—Crucial Factor of Society's Intellectual Development; the 13th Session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Has Ended"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The 13th session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle continued on Friday [31 March] with the discussion. [passage omitted] At the close of the session, Comrade Milos Jakes took the floor.

At the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, he said, we discussed important questions concerning the social, political, and economic situation in our country, and the party's course of action since the last Central Committee session—as well as problems—on the solution on which our efforts must focus. Today's session provided an answer to many topical issues of internal and international political development. This is in the interest of uniting the party's further course of action as well as in the interest of making our stands known to citizens. This must also be helped by the further improvement of the public flow of information. The main thing now will be to consistently abide by the adopted conclusions, and to energetically and resolutely implement the tasks of socioeconomic development, of restructuring and democratization. A responsible preparation of the 18th CPCZ Congress will continue to be at the center of our attention.

In harmony with the tasks of social restructuring and democratization, we have dealt with the main directions of the further development of our schools and the educational system and with the restructuring of this sphere. This was preceded by a comprehensive preparation in which both experts and the general public took part.

The course of our deliberations confirmed the great relevance and need for putting the problems of the school system on the agenda of a session of the party's Central Committee. It is beyond dispute that the 40 years spent in building socialism in our country have brought revolutionary changes to the educational level of citizens. Socialism made education accessible to all people, thereby implementing the main idea of the great teacher of nations, Jan Amos Komensky. In this connection, I deem it correct to once again voice appreciation for the dedicated work of our teachers and all those who participate in the teaching and education of the young generation, in the implementation of the party's school policy.

The conclusions which we have reached while preparing our session are explicated in the report that was delivered by Comrade Jan Fojtik, and form the contents of the adopted resolution. The party and the appropriate agencies must pay continual attention to their realization and check on their fulfillment.

In the fruitful and extensive discussion, a number of important suggestions and comments were made. It will be necessary to assess them responsibly and to make use of them in itemizing and implementing the adopted conclusions.

The necessity of improving the quality of instruction and education, of their close links with life and with the needs of our society, especially from the viewpoint of its future development, as well as the need for life-long

education were rightly stressed. An important requirement is that of the democratization of the management system of our school system.

The role of the teacher as a pedagogue and educator was once again highlighted. His training and professional competence, his moral qualities, and his attitude toward children and the youth, as well as the respect and support of society must correspond to this. The need for close cooperation between school and the parents and between school and enterprises and other institutions, the importance of the work of Pioneer and youth union organizations, and the irreplaceable role of party organizations at schools were rightly pointed out. The national committees' active approach to the management of schools, as well as the necessity of improved material and technical support for the educational process and for those who carry it out must be considered of supreme importance.

The issues involved are not and will not be simple. That fact has also been discussed here. However, it is necessary to tackle the issues everywhere with the awareness that education is one of the crucial factors of our society's development.

All tasks connected with the improvement of our educational system are closely connected with one another. What must be done without delay, however, is to concentrate attention on, above all, improving the quality of apprentice training centers, which prepare the new generation of the working class. The discussion also confirmed how acute this issue is in our society.

The Central Committee expressed support for the proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st anniversary of victorious February, which comprises the most important tasks we are facing in the period prior to the 18th CPCZ Congress. Their fulfillment will depend on the degree to which we succeed in mobilizing the working people and citizens and in enlisting their support in practical activity. This is conditional on the offensive political work of our party and on the high degree of activity and fighting spirit of Communists. The preparation of annual members' meetings and party conferences must be used to this end. We must raise demands and demand accountability for the fulfillment of tasks everywhere. This concerns all managerial and ranking personnel in particular.

The resolute offensive of the party as a whole and the stepping up of its activity should be projected in a productive and creative atmosphere of preparations for May Day celebrations, when we traditionally pay respect and tribute to honest work, to those comrades who deserve the greatest credit for good results and who will rightly be presented with high state awards.

In conclusion, I would like to convey thanks for your active and creative approach to the issues under debate and I appreciate the Central Committee's unity, which is at the root of the unity of the entire party and of a unified course of action in putting our policy into practice. I am confident that members and candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the party's Central Control and Auditing Commission will set an example in implementing the adopted resolutions.

The 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee was concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

Jakes, Husak Discuss Party, Social Issues

LD0304190289 Prague CTK in English 1829 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Prague April 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes today called on President Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia, who is under medical care at home, to inform him of the course and resolutions of the 13th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee last week.

Milos Jakes conveyed to Gustav Husak greetings and wishes for a fast recovery from the Communist Party Central Committee.

Gustav Husak appreciated the resolutions of the recent Communist Party Central Committee session and expressed full support for them. The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee session gave an answer to a number of topical questions in the party and society, and provided stimuli for a further improvement of the Czechoslovak system of education.

Jakes Leaves for Southeast Asia Visit 5 Apr

LD0504145489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, left by air today for a friendly visit to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and for an official state visit to Syria. Seeing him off at Prague-Ruzyne Airport were Comrades Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and other figures.

Ministry on Origin of Jet Hijackers' Weapons

AU0404150589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Mar 89 pp 1, 7

["CTK, Miroslav Kubin, zr"-signed report: "Hijackers' Identity Is Known"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The CSSR Ministry of Interior has announced that the weapons used by the hijackers to force their way on board the Hungarian airlines aircraft [hijacked in Prague on 29 March] and to fire a warning shot from the plane were stolen by S. Macicko from his father. The weapons in question were a "Mauser" rifle and a "Hammerles" shotgun with ammunition. The ministry also announced that investigations into the circumstances of the incident are continuing. [passage omitted]

Prospects for Hijackers' Extradition Viewed
AU0604073989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Apr 89 p 8

[Miroslav Kubin Bonn dispatch: "The Hijackers' Extradition Is Possible"]

[Text] Bonn—West German authorities and the judiciary expect that the processing of the Czechoslovak request for the extradition of the two [Czechoslovak] air pirates will take a rather long time. At the same time, it is not quite clear what decision will be taken.

This transpires from the answers given to questions about the possibility of extraditing terrorists Macicko and Styk, who hijacked a Hungarian airliner at Ruzyne Airport in Prague [on 29 March] and are to be prosecuted on charges of air piracy in Czechoslovakia.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice in Bonn told the CTK correspondent that there are two possibilities in the FRG: The hijackers can either be tried in the FRG or they can be extradited to Czechoslovakia. The Ministry of Justice will pass on the Czechoslovak request for the extradition of the hijackers to the relevant court in Frankfurt am Main. The spokesman further said that the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Justice and possibly "other agencies," as well as the FRG Government, will be involved in the decision.

Hubert Harth, spokesman for the prosecutor's office in Frankfurt am Main, which is conducting the investigations into the two hijackers' criminal acts, told the CTK correspondent that his institution will now be collecting and studying evidence. On this basis, it will then decide whether or not to indict the hijackers. In any case, the investigations will take weeks. From the legal point of view, the decision on whether or not to extradite the hijackers or not is to be made by the court in Frankfurt am Main. The political decision, however, falls upon the government in Bonn.

In the last few years, the West German authorities have not extradited any air pirate to any socialist country for prosecution. In the final document of the Vienna CSCE, however, the FRG pledged to seek the elimination of terrorism in civil aviation.

Bomb-Threat Hoaxer Sentenced to 4 Months
AU0504101589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Mar 89 p 2

["ns"-signed report: "Punishment for Spreading Alarmist Report"]

[Summary] The district court in Ziar nad Hronom has sentenced Eng Jozef Boj, 29, to 4 months in jail, to be served in the first correctional group. Boj, a researcher at the Enterprise of the Slovak National Uprising in Ziar nad Hronom, committed the criminal offense of spreading an alarmist report when on 20 February he anonymously telephoned the enterprise and said that a time bomb would explode in one of the workshops. After being tracked down, he confessed and said that his actions were meant as a "joke." He was also ordered to pay the enterprise Kcs1,673 in damages. The sentence has not yet been enforced.

Outcome of Soviet Elections Assessed
AU3103093289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Mar 89 p 6

[Article by RUDE PRAVO Moscow correspondent Lubor Kazda: "The Soviet Election Campaign—School of Democratism; A Valuable As Well As Unexpected Experience"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev has described the election campaign in the Soviet Union as a great shift forward in the process of the democratization of society. The final official outcome of the elections of deputies to the new supreme body of state power—the Congress of USSR People's Deputies—is yet to be published. However, even now it is obvious that the course of the elections was fruitful, that they fulfilled their mission to shift further forward the realization of the political reform, involve broad strata of citizens in the process of restructuring, and give new quality to the social-political events in the country.

It is necessary to recall that the course of the elections was regulated by the new election law, developed in accordance with the conclusions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and adopted last December. The new law, which undoubtedly constitutes an important concrete step toward the democratization of the political system, proved its viability after the electoral "test of fire"—despite some of its "raw spots" mentioned and commented on by the Soviet press. The Central Election Commission was purposefully compiling suggestions and recommendations during the election campaign, and intends to submit summary material, accompanied by proposals for its fine tuning [dopracovani], to the Congress of People's Deputies.

This document gives Soviet citizens the opportunity to knowingly assume coresponsibility for the further course of restructuring—in the quite specific form of choosing future deputies of the congress; to truly codecide who and why a certain person will represent the people's interests in the legislative body; and in discussions preceding elections on the election platforms of individual candidates on what to expect from the future collegium of deputies, to codecide the important tasks for resolution and on what to mainly focus.

A typical characteristic of elections in the USSR, which is not practiced in any other country, is their dual aspect [dvoukolejnost]: Of the 2,250 deputies of the Congress of People's Deputies, 750 were elected by the CPSU and

social organizations, and 1,500 were elected by citizens in territorial and territorial and nationality [uzemne-narodnostni] constituencies. During the election campaign, many differing opinions were heard on this principle—from completely agreement to pungently criticism.

A Valuable Lesson

For example, the objection cropped up that members of social organizations are actually given broader voting rights than nonmembers. On the other hand, the proponents of the dual-aspect system, for example, were pointing out the weighty fact that a direct representation of social organizations in the supreme state body substantially broadens the participation of various significant social forces, groups, strata, and organizational structures in the administration of the state, a matter that fully corresponds to the interests of restructuring, makes it possible for social organizations to better push through their interests and, at the same time, contribute their creative potential to state-forming work. This discussion will obviously continue, and no matter what the conclusions, the fact remains that elections in a majority of social organizations have become for them a sort of restructuring catalyst for internal development, a test of their ability to act, of their maturity, of democratism, and a very valuable political lesson for them.

Other critical voices pertaining to the elections in social organizations presented arguments about an inadequate choice of candidates presented by these social organizations at the elections—the 750 deputy posts were contested by 880 candidates in social organizations. For example, for the 100 posts for the CPSU (according to law, for example, trade unions and cooperatives have the same number of mandates), exactly 100 candidates were nominated to the CPSU Central Committee session, and then elected deputies.

Here, of course, it is necessary to point out that these final candidacies crystallized at party deliberations from 300,000 preliminary proposals submitted by primary organizations, and, therefore, the possibility to choose existed..

Binding Tasks

In connection with the results of the elections of deputies for the CPSU, great interest elicited the publication not only of the names of the elected comrades, but also of the number of votes for and against which this or that candidate received at the session of the CPSU Central Committee, including the highest party leadership. This means that in the elections, conditions were created for a full democratic expression of will, which put an end to artificial unanimity, a matter which the commentaries in the Soviet press described as the "sign of a genuine pluralism of views and evaluation."

At the same time, the publication by the CPSU Central Committee of themes and suggestions, with which Communists and the working people are confronting the future congress deputies representing the CPSU line at election meetings, is an important step. These proposals were compressed into party mandates—into actual tasks for the activity of deputies representing the CPSU line in the highest state body. This, in its way, is a collectivelly developed election program in the spirit of the 19th CPSU Conference. It entrusts the deputies representing the CPSU line, with, among other things, the task of developing a law on referendum, a law on combating corruption, a law on local self-administration with expanded rights and powers for local soviets, a law on glasnost, and other laws. Other tasks are further perfecting the electoral system and deepening democratic achievements.

Considerable attention was focused on steps aimed at strengthening the unity of the USSR, normalizing the conflict tendencies surrounding the nationality problems in the Transcaucasian republics and the Baltic, and stopping the activities of hostile nationalist forces and their attempts to disrupt the unity of the multinationality Soviet state. The deputies were charged with weighty ecological tasks, a separate group of socioeconomic development themes for the country, and international policy. By these mandates, the CPSU obligated its deputies to concentrate the work of the congress on the main directions of restructuring.

The Sunday [26 March] elections in territorial and territorial and nationality constituencies (almost 2,900 candidates contested 1,500 deputy posts) were the culmination of the whole campaign. The elections, as well as the election campaign, provide plenty of interesting themes and experience. For example, the published preliminary figures on voters' turnout—more than 80 percent—are evidence of people's positive and spontaneous activity, because this time there were no moves to hold "manifestation elections"; there was no competition for which constituency would be the first to report the end of voting; agitators did not visit voters in apartments, as was formerly done, to "prod" those who were late; and so forth. Everything was completely left up to the feeling of civic responsibility.

What do some unofficial preliminarily results of the voting look like? In the first place, they affirmed that the optimal number of candidates on a slate running for one deputy post seems to be 2-3. In the majority of constituencies where the slate was larger (for example, in the Gagarin constituency in Moscow there were 12 candidates) the elections did not yield results, no candidate won a simple majority, the votes were "dissipated," and elections in these constituencies will be repeated within 2 weeks. The candidates will the be two office-seekers who got the most votes in the first round.

Of course, there were also situations where there were two candidates in a constituency, with neither of them winning a simple majority. New elections will be held in

these places within 2 months, with the entire preelection procedure repeated—the nomination of new candidates and so forth. And there are quite a few examples of such cases. For example, out of the 26 constituencies in Moscow, such situations occurred in 3 cases, among them, in Lyublinski constituency, where Moscow Mayor Saykin was a cocandidate.

Importance of Opposing Candidates

At a recent meeting with journalists, Yuriy Ryzhov, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Department for Party Development and Cadre Work, pointed out the fact that half of all first secretaries of the CPSU oblast and regional committees went into elections with opposing candidates. He stressed that he regards it very important for party workers to undergo this experience, testing a man's authority, his abilities, and his work in an election campaign, and not, as was formerly the case, for the election to be decided according to the authority of the post held.

However, in a number of places, the first secretaries were not successful with voters; for example, contrary to expectations, the first secretaries of the party city organizations (Leningrad, Kiev) were not elected. Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman for the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a press conference that roughly one-fifth of the nomenklatura party functionaries did not get the necessary simple majority. In other places, competing with an opposing candidate, party representatives were successful, for example, Jan Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, who—even in the very complex situation in the republic, caused by the exacerbated sentiments around the nationality problems—defeated Yuris Dobelis, who is one of the representatives of the so-called Movement for the National Independence of Latvia, from the ranks of which are heard views about the need for the republic to leave the framework of the USSR. Reporting on the elections in Latvia, the Soviet news agency TASS noted that the overwhelming majority of people gave preference to candidates who rejected extremist slogans.

In many constituencies, where there was only one candidate (roughly two-thirds of them were party functionaries and ranking personnel), the apparent expectations of the candidates that the lack of alternative was the guarantee that they would be elected and that the "elections without competition" would be a walkover were not fulfilled. Yuriy Ryzhov, secretary of the Central Election Commission, even before the elections voiced the opinion that this showed a lack of comprehension of the situation, and that in the next elections, the number of single-mandate constituencies would decrease—that candidates themselves would want to have opponents. Voters did not give their votes to many candidates who had no opponent and, naturally, the elections in those constituencies will be held again.

The election campaign, in addition to increased civic activity and many positive phenomena, also brought some excesses and even violation of laws. The Soviet information media did not keep silent about this. These excesses and violations also teach us a lesson. For example, the paper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA drew attention to the fact that there were instances of misuse of electoral lecterns to assert various personal or narrow group interests, and the propagation of anticonstitutional ideas cropped up when some of the so-called informal associations tried—under slogans of restructuring—to destabilize the sociopolitical atmosphere. On the other hand, the press also reported, along with extremist excesses, a trend to the contrary, inherited from the past: relapses into bureauratic formalism and attempts to compress the election phenomena into narrow, undemocratic notions about the preparation of elections.

And What About the Candidates Themselves?

In the majority of cases, their tasks certainly were not easy. For the first time in the history of Soviet elections, they were not only competing among themselves, but also had the duty to appear before their constituents with personal election programs, which they had to explain and defend. Here, too, much can be learned, because some candidates tried to win popularity by unrealistic attractive slogans and affected gestures. Others, again, reduced the election competition, the battle of candidates, to the level of personal attacks on their opponents. Thus, the culture of discussions and the culture of competition were also tested in the elections. Therefore, it is fully justified to say that the elections have become, in the broad sense of the word, the school of civic and political maturity, the school of the acquisition of democratic habits.

There is no doubt that the Soviet society will often return to the elections, to their results, and to the experience acquired, one of the reasons being that elections to the highest state bodies of the union and autonomous republics will be held this year. Thus, now it will be possible to assess, apply, or reject everything that was successful and proved itself, as well as what was a failure or did not yield a good result. The school of civic maturity continues.

Howe Remarks on Soviet Policy, Relations Cited

LD0404101289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0500 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Zdenek Vilimek, our London correspondent, reports:

[Vilimek] Anti-Soviet attacks published by some right-wing British newspapers do not on the whole suprise anyone. However, a more grave thing is a speech by Geoffrey Howe, secretary of state for foreign affairs, given last night on the most watched political coverage program broadcast by BBC television.

The British minister literally said that Moscow still tries to deceive and influence public opinion in the West European countries in its favor. A ghost of an enoumous bear, the Soviet Army, is said still hover over the European continent.

Nevertheless, these statements by Geoffrey Howe are in sharp contrast with the position taken by the British Government that the state of British-Soviet relations are the best they have ever been since the end of the World War II. These statements also differ from repeated statements by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, which evaluates changes under way in the Soviet Union in a positive way.

The concern expressed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Howe is not, above all, shared by a great majority of the British population. According to a public opinion poll conducted by the well-known Gallup Institute, more than 70 percent of British citizens no longer consider the Soviet Union a military threat.

USSR Deputy Prime Minister Begins Visit

Hold Talks With Janak

LD0304214589 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Ignac Janak, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, today received in Bratislava Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. They evaluated possibilities of widening cooperation in the electronics industry and in other branches of industry with emphasis on formulating and implementing bilateral agreements between the two countries.

Igor Belousov today visited the Avex joint stock company, where he displayed interest in the present level of and prospects for the production of videotape recorders and in their expected export to the Soviet Union. The concretization of cooperation with Soviet partner enterprises stood at the center of Igor Belousov's attention during his visit to the Tesla works in Piestany.

Meets With Deputy Premier

AU0604141989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Apr 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Jointly in the Production of Audiovisual Technology"]

[Text] Prague—On Tuesday Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier, received Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is currently visiting the CSSR, in the Hrzan Palace in Prague.

Their talks concerned specific measures for implementing the conclusions of negotiations conducted in Moscow in February 1989 by Ladislav Adamec and Nikolay Ryzhkov, the heads of government of the two countries, and evaluated in particular the suggestions for solving the conceptual issues of cooperation in developing the production of optical-recording and reproduction systems in the two countries.

Cooperation between the CSSR and USSR in the field of audiovisual technology will help meet the demands for certain kinds of consumer electronics such as compact-disc players and compact discs. The Soviet guest inspected, inter alia, the first-compact disc player wholly produced in the CSSR.

Jaromir Obzina and Igor Belousov noted that the mastering and development of the production of optical-recording and reproduction devices represents a progressive structural change in the field of electronics, one that corresponds to international developments.

Received by Adamec

LD0504143189 Prague CTK in English 1310 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Prague Apr 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia will begin gradual conversion of its military production into production with civil purposes after it reaches agreements with its customers as it is not necessary to maintain the level of defence industry on the present level due to the favourable development of the international political situation.

Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec stressed this during his meeting here today with Soviet Deputy Premier Igor Belousov, currently on a working visit to Czechoslovakia. They discussed the possibilities of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in electronic, air and defence industries.

Ladislav Adamec informed the Soviet representative of the present economic situation in Czechoslovakia and of an economic reform to be applied as from the beginning of next year.

Igor Belousov acquainted the Czechoslovak premier with the course of people's deputies elections in the USSR and with the results of the recent Soviet Communist Party Central Committee plenary session on agriculture.

Bohumil Urban Receives USSR Official

AU0504122789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Apr 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received Fedor Loshchenkov, member of the USSR Government,

member of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material Reserves, at the close of his visit in Prague on Friday [31 March]. They assessed both current and future issues pertaining to cooperation. Mikulas Beno, chairman of the Administration of Federal Material Reserves, attended the reception.

Adamec Receives Hungarian, Romanian Officials

LD0304203989 Prague CTK in English 1941 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Prague April 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec received here today Tamas Beck, the Hungarian minister of trade.

The two representatives informed one another about the political and economic situation in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. They also exchanged opinions on questions of economic policy of countries in the process of realization of economic reforms, namely on decreasing subsidies, structural changes and a greater openness of national economies towards the world market.

On the same day the Czechoslovak prime minister received Radu Balan, president of the Romanian State Planning Committee.

He acquainted his guest with the present political and economic tasks of the Czechoslovak society. Economic relations with Romania are traditionally good.

Ladislav Adamec described the restructuring of the management of Czechoslovak economy as efforts to achieve greater responsibility and powers of enterprises within a well-thought-out central influence on economic and social development. Radu Balan said that also Romania is now seeking new ways to make its economy more effective.

Balan Delivers Ceausescu Message

AU0404153489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1425 GMT 4 Apr 89

["Exchange of Romanian-Czechoslovak Messages at Top Level"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Prague, AGERPRES, 04/04/1989—Warm messages were exchanged in Prague between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, and Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The messages were exchanged when Ladislav Adamec, prime minister of the federal Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, received Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee of Romania, who paid a visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Romanian Planning Protocol Signed

LD0404134989 Prague CTK in English 1231 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Prague April 4 (CTK)—Chairman of the Czechoslovak State Planning Commission Bohumil Urban and President of the Romanian State Planning Committee Radu Balan signed a protocol at the end of their working meeting here today.

They assessed the present state of coordination of the national economic plans for the 1991-1995 period and set concrete tasks for 1989. They agreed that the economic potential of the two countries provides good prospects for expansion of economic cooperation, particularly cooperation in production and specialization, and for higher goods exchange with improved forms of cooperation.

Bavarian Trade Minister Lang Begins Visit

Received by Jan Sterba

AU0504082689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, received August Lang, Bavarian minister of the economy and transportation, in Prague on Thursday [30 March]. They expressed appreciation for the developing political dialogue and the intensifying economic cooperation between the CSSR and Bavaria. They also assessed the developments concerning trade between the CSSR and the FRG.

Discusses Economic Cooperation

AU0504104589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Apr 89 p 1

["kov"-signed report: "Bavaria Is Interested in Cooperation With the CSSR"]

[Text] Prague (our correspondent)— The 2-day working visit to Czechoslovakia revealed that the CSSR and Bavaria are greatly interested in specific projects in the sphere of construction, tourism, spa treatment, health care, and also aviation and engineering, said August Lang, Bavarian minister of the economy and transportation, at a Friday [31 March] news conference. August Lang visited Prague at the invitation of Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade.

August Lang noted the "Days of the Bavarian Economy" which will be held in Prague on 4-5 October. He said that a group composed of construction and financial experts is slated to meet in Prague in June with tourism officials and ministries' personnel to assess the possibilities for cooperation concerning west Bohemian spas. He said that the Airbus aviation company and the BMW auto works are also interested in cooperating with the CSSR.

He expressed appreciation for the CSSR's goodwill with regard to simplifying border-crossing formalities, and he said that Minister Sterba intimated a possible reduction of up to 60 percent of the cost of Czechoslovak visas for FRG-organized excursions and the possible abolition of the compulsory currency exchange for young people aged 17 and younger. When asked whether the FRG, following the Czechoslovak example, is also preparing to issue visas to CSSR citizens at the border, he replied that the FRG does not have a free hand in this matter because of its EEC membership.

Writers Official Urges Authors' 'Reintegration'

LD0404121789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2230 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] A plenary session of the Czech Writers Association which took place in mid-March at Dobris Palace near Prague was eagerly anticipated. [passage omitted] The most important problems were summarized and published by the literary weekly KMEN, and at a news conference where we asked Michal Cernik, chairman of the Czech Writers Association, about principal tasks for the association's leadership resulting from the plenum discussion.

[Begin Cernik recording] [Passage omitted] I have to say that the principal tasks of our leadership are to attain a complete perspective of our literature over the last 40 years. This view was incomplete due to certain [word indistinct] causes outside literature. We are striving for the reintegration of all healthy creative forces back into literature. This means, for instance, that those writers who have not had their works published for many years and who stood outside literary activities, should return to literature on the basis of their present civil stands and have opportunities to publish their works. We also discussed the question or attitude concerning the relation of internal and external emigration to our literature. We discussed the question of the literary value of literature—that is, the new quality view of literature when, for instance, some works that had been omitted must be restored to the context of our literature. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Reshuffle in E. Slovak Regional National Body

AU0604093289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Apr 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Brief Home News" column]

[Excerpt] An extraordinary session of the East Slovak Regional National Committee discussed cadre questions in Kosice yesterday. In connection with Jan Trebula's election as mayor of Kosice, it recalled him from the post of deputy chairman of the regional national committee, and elected Viliam Sopko, until now deputy chairman of the district national committee in Presov, as the new deputy chairman of the [East Slovak] regional national committee. [passage omitted]

Inquiry Into Labor Council, Director Elections

AU3103172989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

["z"-signed report: "Session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Control and Auditing Commission; On the Results of an Inquiry Into the First Stage of Elections of Organs of Socialist Self-Management"]

[Excerpt] Prague— At its 14th session, which was held in Prague on Wednesday [29 March] and presided over by Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Control and Auditing Commission, the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission discussed the results of an inquiry into the first stage of the elections of organs of socialist self-management and directors in state enterprises. It also discussed the implementation of the principles of socialist construction in state enterprises and in the course of the comprehensive experiment.

It transpired from the inquiry that, in all the state enterprises reviewed, the preparation and elections of self-management organs and directors were carried out under the political guidance of party agencies and organizations.

However, the first stage of elections was marked by a lack of experience. In some cases, the appropriate prerequisites were not established for a more effective application of democratic principles in the elections of socialist self-management organs and directors. Ingrained approaches, marked by an orientation toward the solution of organizational issues, lingered on, which found its expression in the lower quality of mass political work and scant knowledge of people's views. Many party organizations, along with the senior managerial staffs and functionaries of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Youth Union, failed to use the elections to increase their political influence in labor collectives. In preparing and providing for the elections of self-management organs and directors, the founders of two-thirds of the state enterprises under scrutiny did not fulfill duties assigned to them by the law [on state enterprises] and by the resolution of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The establishment of state enterprises has raised demands on the application of the party's leading role by party agencies and organizations and on the forms and methods of political guidance. In the organizational structure of the party, conditions for this are established by the election of new bodies—party committees. The inquiry revealed that regional and district party committees played a positive role in the process of their formation. However, at some places, the election of party committees was delayed. Their role in elections of self-management organs and directors therefore could not

make itself felt. Party committees are still clarifying the extent of their powers and are exploring and detailing the forms and methods of political guidance in state enterprises.

In designated economic organizations, the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission also examined the implementation of the principles of the economic experiment in enhancing independence and responsibility for an effective development. The reduced number of mandatory indicators of the plan and the enterprises' increased interest in the results of the conduct of their financial affairs, including in conjunction with their material incentives, can be assessed positively. Also, the development fund gives enterprises a broader latitude for decisions on the use of their retained earnings.

However, for the time being, the economic experiment has not made itself felt in a notable improvement in the economic results of the organizations that were subjected to scrutiny, nor has it led to any substantial changes in their conduct. It is apparent that they had not been prepared for the new economic conditions in time. The instruments and rules of the economic experiment are not yet sufficiently interlinked, and their stability has not been ensured. In a number of experimenting organizations, the new rules have not been projected into in-house management, so the collectives of plants and workshops do not fully have a stake in the generation of resources, in economic results.

The CPCZ Control and Auditing Commission subjected the shortcomings to criticism. It decided that the report should be complemented with the suggestions generated in the course of the discussion and submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, along with the recommendation that secretaries and department heads of the CPCZ Central Committee as well as leading secretaries of CPCZ and Communist Party of Slovakia regional and district committees use findings from the inquiry in order to improve the standard of party work while ensuring in political terms the final stage of the establishment of state enterprises and elections of self-management organs and directors. It also recommended that in the period to come, essential alterations be made in the approved documents concerning party agencies' and organizations' course of action in testing the principles of socialist self-management by labor collectives and elections of enterprise directors as well as in the principles of adjustments in the party structure approved by the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat. [passage omitted]

Horn Views Gorbachev on Export of Revolution

LD0504144589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev has concluded his visit to Cuba and will soon depart for Great Britain. Following his talks in Havana, the Soviet leader has described as unfounded opinions circulating in the West that certain Soviet-Cuban differences allegedly surfaced in the discussions. At the same time, he said that the Soviet Union opposes the export of revolution. What does Gyula Horn, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, think about this?

[Begin Horn recording] This is an extraordinarily important thing. I have to say that over the past years and decades, the situation in the Soviet Union, in the other socialist countries, and elsewhere was complicated by the fact that if some kind of movement got under way, regardless of where this happened, and if the leaders of these efforts or movements described themselves as socialist or pro-Soviet, even if in reality this were not the case, they then immediately offered them support. Of course this support was basically, or primarily, of a military nature. I must say that this resulted in a great deal of damage. It created the impression, which is not without foundation, as a matter of fact, that the Soviet Union or the socialist countries are immediately present everywhere, and furthermore, with armed support—this created a very bad picture of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, this also disrupted East-West relations enormously. [end recording]

Nation's World War II Liberation Celebrated

Minister Csehak Speaks 3 Apr

LD0304222189 Budapest MTI in English 1937 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 3 (MTI)—It was the Soviet, U.S., Romanian, British, Bulgarian and Canadian soldiers as well as the Hungarian partisans and the heroes of the volunteer regiment of Buda who brought the moment of liberation for us, said Judit Csehak, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Committee and minister of health and social affairs, in her festive TV and radio speech on Monday, on the eve of the anniversary of Hungary's liberation. Those times held out the promise that the Hungarian people would be able to tackle its crucial issues in the most feasible ways and with the most appropriate methods.

Today we can see it really that what began in the late 1940s was more and graver than a 'historical accident'. The party and the idea of socialism were gravely compromised, and the country driven into another national tragedy. Although the past decades have seen repeated attempts at carrying out partial reforms with more or less success, we failed to get beyond the barriers of the bad social model, and make a sweeping turn. The final results of our efforts are well-known to all. Although no ruins of war must be cleared away today, the active generations of our age have to settle the huge debts that are equal to the war losses.

Today we cannot expect anyone else, either in the East or in the West, to clear away the huge obstacles impeding our development, Ms Csehak said. Nevertheless, the consistent efforts of Hungary to break new paths in keeping with its conditions, remain open to the world and improve its own fate, are followed with sympathy and attention in both the East and the West.

The HSWP rejects the excessive concentration of power, and is ready to compete and being measured in democratic elections, Ms Csehak said in her festive speech.

Romanian Envoy Lays Wreath

AU0304184189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1755 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest AGERPRES 3/4/1989—On the 44th anniversary of Hungary's liberation, Traian Pop, Romania's ambassador to Hungary, laid floral wreaths at the memorials to and tombs of the Romanian heroes in Budapest—Rakosliget and Hajduboszormeny. On behalf of the Romanian Embassy garlands were also laid at the memorials to and tombs of the Romanian heroes in Debrecen, Gyor, Miskolc, Nyiregyhaza, Oroshaza, Szeged and Tiszakecske.

At the monument and graveyard of the Romanian heroes in Hajduboszormeny floral wreaths were laid on behalf of the Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Ministry of Defence as well as the party, state and public bodies of Hajdu-Bihar County and Hajduboszormeny town.

These memorials and tombs stand proof to the supreme sacrifice made by over 42,000 Romanian soldiers and officers killed in action during World-War-Two fighting for Hungary's liberation from the fascist yoke.

Leaders Attend Anniversary Events

LD0404180789 Budapest MTI IN English 1521 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 4 (MTI)—The 44th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary was celebrated all over the country on Tuesday. The representatives of party, state, social and mass organizations, the employees of companies and institutions, and the inhabitants of towns and villages recalled the moments of Hungary's liberation from fascist oppression, and paid tribute to the memory of those who had died for the liberation of this country or fallen victim to fascism.

Tuesday in the morning, the national flag of the Hungarian People's Republic and the red banner of the international labour movement were hoisted with military honours on Gellert Hill, and the state flag on Lajos Kossuth Square before the parliament building.

On Szabadsag Square and the Heroes' Square, wreaths were laid on the monuments of the Soviet and Hungarian heroes who had died for the liberation of this country. On behalf of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic President Bruno F. Straub, on behalf of the Council of Ministers Chairman Miklos Nemeth, and on behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party General Secretary Karoly Grosz and Secretary Janos Lukacs, member of the Political Commit-

tee, laid wreaths on both monuments. The representatives of social organizations and the workers of Budapest also laid flowers on the monuments.

On behalf of the Soviet Embassy in Budapest, Ambassador Boris Stukalin, Counsellor of Legation Vladlen Puntus, Counsellor Igor Mikheyev and Colonel Arkadiy Danilko, military and air attache, laid a wreath on the Soviet Heroes' Monument on Szabadsag Square. On behalf of the diplomatic corps, Antonio Casas Salvi, ambassador of the Republic of Venezuela, Jose Pablo Moran Val, ambassador of the Republic of Peru, Christiane Malitchenko, ambassador of the French Republic, Colonel Christian Abzouzi, defence attache of France, Lieutenant General Jan Lux, military and air attache of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gunther von Oertzen, defence attache of the Federal Republic of Germany, laid a wreath on the monument on the Heroes' Square.

On the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, the Presidential Council held an awarding ceremony in the parliament building.

The awards were handed over to a group of the honoured by Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council. Present at the event were Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council.

After greeting those honoured, Mr Straub recalled that more than four decades ago the Red Army had driven out the fascist occupiers and their Hungarian collaborators from the country, inducing the hope of creating an independent and democratic hungary. He emphasized that the Hungarian people paid tribute to the memory of those who had died for the destruction of fascism and the liberation of Hungary, no matter whether they were Soviet, U.S., British, Romanian, French, Bulgarian or Yugoslav citizens, or the sons of this country. They also pay tribute to the Hungarian soldiers who had been condemned to senseless death, to those who had died in concentration camps, and to those who had fallen victim to the cruel war.

Mr Straub said that the anniversary always prompted us to draw an account. The years that have passed since 1945 brought both successes and failures, sentiments on social scale and reconciliation. Hungary has made some achievements that claim international respect, and it also yields appreciation for the country if it is not afraid of facing the errors so as to create a democratic and socialist Hungary that is capable of catching up with Europe, Mr Straub emphasized, adding that those greeted in parliament were the most active in laying the foundations of this process.

After the awarding ceremony, Mr Straub gave a reception in honour of those in attendance.

* Pozsgay on Reform Wing's Prospects, Obstacles

25000154a Budapest MARCZIUS TIZENOTODIKE in Hungarian 15 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[Article by Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo: "The Chances for Freedom"]

[Text] There is a question which a European citizen at the end of the 20th century cannot avoid asking: Can man ever be emancipated, and can we eliminate alienation? Finding the answer to this question, in my opinion, must be our real goal. I am certain that without clarifying this—on the surface abstract—philosophical question about freedom, and by promoting pragmatic and downright anti-theoretical attitudes, there cannot be undisturbed communication, not to mention an alliance among reformers, among movements working sincerely on strengthening our nation. Because this issue has so far been avoided, the ties among the various trends of the Hungarian progressive movement have been mostly of a cautiously awaiting and tactical nature. Hence like a fatalist, this progressive movement has come to expect defeat rather than victory. The participants have been more imaginative in plotting different escape routes, and in searching for ways of ridding themselves of a burdensome ally, than in organizing a collective victory—and then in figuring out what to do with that victory.

Recognizing the nature and true potential of freedom does not require anyone to become a theoretician or to be a professional expert. We are suggesting nothing of the sort. What we need to do is get to the heart of the issues. And this requires decisionmaking, not unending research. Not to be afraid of facing the consequences of a decision that was made—this is what is required. Why am I mentioning this requirement in connection with the weighing of the chances of freedom? Because the issue that really needs to be addressed is whether or not political freedom should be sacrificed for the promise of a distant, but an inalienable and complete form of human freedom. Promoting this long-term goal, first in global, then in regional but always in internationally worded terms has been one of our greatest experiences in this century. Until, that is, we have come face to face with the issue of mankind's survival. For this is the ultimate issue. Whatever lies beyond it, falls outside the alternatives of history.

This distant goal need not be repudiated by anyone, just as a Christian cannot be expected to repudiate the possibility of redemption and salvation. It must be admitted, however, that our attempts so far at attaining this goal have been much too costly for us from the point of view of freedom. It must be concluded, therefore, that this distant and beatific goal can no longer be allowed to directly affect our efforts in organizing society.

I am saying all this to the reform-ready members of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] who we hope will shortly constitute the majority of the party. For as they confront their onerous past, they must be ready to

face not only their actual history, but also this vision of the future. In the case of people of sincere commitment this cannot be done without inner conflict, without a catharsis. We must come right out and admit and accept—which will not be easy—that from the calculable perspective of today's generations real freedom means political freedom. And this political freedom cannot be sacrificed for any abstract and distant goal. The true custodian of political freedom is the citizen, its framework is the nation, and its means is the state. Behind all this lies the organic system of society in which the individual is capable of self-determination, and the collective is able to govern itself. The manner in which the state's tasks are performed, the quality of the services it provides are controlled directly by the citizens, or through their representatives. This interpretation of freedom is based not on the principle of usefulness, but on humanistic considerations; it so happens, however, that in the European culture and civilization the most successful, and economically most efficient nations have always been those which have built their societies on political freedom and in accordance with the norms of human rights.

The new challenge before the members of the MSZMP is not only to accept the aforementioned principles, but also to take an unprecedentedly critical look at the work which they have helped to create. Without such introspection, and without guarantees against recidivist attempts, even the most appealing program will lack credibility. What has enabled the forces of reform to gain ground within the MSZMP over the past decades has been the relentlessly critical stand they have taken against the established practices of their own party as their pertained to various issues. Due to the lack of publicity, public opinion could not have known much about this. They have done this in an organization which owing to its atavistic reflexes has been unable to integrate new ideas at the moment of their inception. It has beheaded the new, and with it—sometimes figuratively, and at other times literally—the carriers of new ideas. And when after a few years it was forced to adopt the by then no longer new ideas, it was too late, and the whole thing lacked credibility.

Party members committed to the cause of reform, therefore, must gain a great deal of self-understanding, both in terms of the history and the nature of their own movement. It would be an empty dream to believe that we have passed this stage already. Indeed we have quite a ways to go yet before we can make that claim. We must make newer and newer attempts at exposing the operation of the system which we have inherited, but which, in part, our generation has also helped to create, in order to get a better feel for the magnitude of the changes required.

Those who started the great Russian revolution believed and professed that the society of the future would be an empire of freedom. This world appeared to be within reach, and its attainment became the immediate program and goal of that generation. In the interest of attaining that goal it was deemed worth sacrificing freedom and human rights, and doing without many things. During Stalin's time, the proponents of this goal had formed their own ruling political ideology and organizational methods. The people, in their view, were a mass, whose spontaneity was the source of constantly lurking danger. The stratification of society, its propensity for self-organization, its self-governing ability and its enterprising spirit based on proprietary controls, were all obstacles in their eyes which had to be removed from the road to the future.

This task, in their opinion, could only be accomplished with the help of an organization that would act both as a custodian and the vanguard of society. It was this driving force that had assumed the role of the various driving forces of society, and subsequently has, to a great extent, homogenized and hierarchically reshaped society, ended people's autonomy and eliminated the possibility of self-determination. Concurrently, the economy ceased to exist as it was absorbed into the realm of politics, while politics was dropped from the movement and established in the comfortable fortress of the bureaucratic state party or party state, i.e., "into an intimate inner circle protected by power." This was how reality had gradually become subject to, and in effect a victim of bureaucratic manipulation; after all, whatever lay beyond the horizon of the "castle" was not allowed to exist, and if it did want to exist it had to be destroyed for it could not be planned and thus endangered the custodian's power. Given such a structure, the power protection reflex was successful in warding off criticism.

Within this structure the state controls every manifestation of its citizens; it defines their latitude of movement and builds their interdependence and interrelationships into a centralized ("monolithic") system of dependence. Accordingly, man is viewed as a subject to be educated, and therefore is treated as an infant. The pedagogical task is then to constantly keep people's attention on the set goal, and to keep society in a permanent state of mobilization amidst conditions characterized by shortages of goods and restricted freedoms.

For a long time those that lived within this structure were unable to see it. It was the unrealized product and the resulting crisis that finally opened the eyes of those who had viewed the system not as critical outsiders but as participants closely identified with its goals. Consequently, the cause of this system's stubborn resistance to reform can be traced back not only to its ruling reflex, but also to the fact that large segment of the ruling elite are profoundly identified with its goals, and see the system as the embodiment of that goal. For a long time, the reformers have also thought that efficiency was merely a task of rationalization and modernization which could be realized simply by changing various structural elements of the system, and reforming some of its mechanisms. This in turn has delayed the realization of the preconditions that must be in place before any radical and fundamental change can take place; i.e., the realization, first of all, by those at the top that a change

is indeed necessary, and the recognition that further delays in effecting such a change might lead to destabilization, or even worse, to a catastrophe.

Because everybody is helplessly at the mercy of such a closed, hierarchically divided, and in terms of its publicity, distorted structure, the elite and the progressive and reform-minded segment of the bureaucracy are forced to battle over change while continuing constantly to serve the existing system. Significant and drastic initiatives and manifestations are always viewed with general suspicion within the ruling party. And where such initiatives are accidentally allowed to assert themselves, an attempt to redistribute the existing roles and privileges is suspected. Civic courage is viewed as a sign of deviant and insane behavior which is only natural in a schizophrenic world in which anything that is normal appears to be sick. Rare sovreign personalities are hastily institutionalized and used for legitimization purposes. This, too, is natural in a place where legitimacy is not determined on the basis of the principle of popular sovereignty, and where the role of outstanding sovereign personalities is used only to contrast it with the people's lack of maturity.

The reason why this structure must be repeatedly exposed is because today there are still many superstitions to overcome which hinder clear-sighted decision-making even in the most fundamental areas of reform and renewal. According to one such superstition, care must be taken to ensure that political reforms do not get too far ahead of our economic reforms, because this may threaten stability, and because the deterioration or lack of stability in turn would make it easier for the party of law and order to bring back the old system. Unquestionably there is a little contradiction here. But it must also be remembered that political reform cannot be viewed as a supplement to economic reforms. Even less are we to ration freedom as a "bread substitute," for this would be playing a cynical game with the people's trust; it would, in fact, be tantamount to the betrayal of the people. There is, however, an even more important interrelationship here which the doubters and the prisoners of superstitious beliefs tend to lose sight of. Namely the fact that, according to the Stalinist model, all reform initiatives are by definition political in character. As the earlier illustrated structure very clearly shows, this has meant the political reshaping of our society, and the devouring by the political sphere of all other societal functions, including the economy. All economic laws could now be set aside in lieu of voluntaristic decisions repeatable at will, and instead of being governed by economic laws, the players of economic life have become subject to pressures external to the economy.

Those whose slogan is to put our economy in order and bring greater welfare to the people first, have about as much understanding of this system as—in the words of Berthold Brecht—the guinea pig has of biology. It is probably owing to the combined effect of the limits of human comprehension and the intertwining of bureaucratic and position-related interests, that there are still a great many people who believe in this superstition, and who fail to even take notice of the very simple everyday fact that for 3 and ½ decades now, this way of thinking has failed to help us overcome the functioning problems of the system. Those, on the other hand, who are concerned about stability should keep in mind that the structure itself is inherently instable, for it requires an incredible amount of waste to preserve its balance and a minimum level of cooperation and collaboration with society. The bureaucratic system of coordination substituting for a market is barely able to manage the sphere of production, and only by retarding growth by instituting harsh restrictions has it been able to maintain some degree of balance. At the same time, it is still guarding the vision of a society without conflicts, and in order to prevent this vision from dissipating, it maintains a vigilant watch over its anachronistic, unproductive, incentive-lacking economic structure, and is ready to sacrifice all available resources at the altar of social tranquility. It is also at this altar where foreign credits to our country have been sacrificed. The logic of the system is fatally consistent in imposing harsh restriction, in other words, in making the people pay for delayed decisions and mounting problems. When society reaches the limits of tolerance strained by restrictions and cuts in consumption, then as its only remaining recourse it will resort to revolt to which those in power will react with violence. To repeat what was said earlier, therefore, lack of stability is one of the fundamental characteristics of the system; to argue that reform initiatives and the acceleration of the reform process represent a threat to stability is to present a false illusion.

The other superstition is closely connected with the former. According to this belief, the form in which the political system and power manifests itself has no bearing on the functioning of the economy. Poor economic performance, the argument goes, is just as conceivable under democracy, as it has been for some dictatorships to show excellent economic results. What the believers and propagators of this superstition are deviously suggesting is a possible scenario in which under the guise of reestablishing social integration the holders of power can react to the strengthening of trends threatening their positions with the violent means of law and order, and even attain some spectacular economic results in the process. The blindness caused by this superstition is difficult to cure, especially if it stems from a hidden agenda. The most popular examples mentioned in this connection have been Spain's economic achievements during the Franco dictatorship, some Southeast Asian countries, and Chile.

When referring to these examples, however, people forget that in these countries the political sphere did not absorb the economy, that there was no extra-economic pressure and that the laws of the market continued to prevail, for the market never disappeared: The economy in those countries was not suppressed, only the society.

It, incidentally, also could not have been by accident that Europe cast off its remaining dictatorships. Undoubtedly not only because they permeated the atmosphere or because they were socially acceptable, but also because in Europe genuine social and economic accomplishment can only be attained under political conditions that are based on respect for the individual and for human rights. Anyone with an inquisitive mind should be easily able to admit that within the realm of European culture and civilization—in other words, in Western and central Europe and in North America—there is a close cause-and-effect relationship between liberal ideas and democratic practices on the one hand, and the size and quality of the accomplishments. In other words, in the civic societies of these countries human rights determine the rules of behavior, their societies enjoy political freedom, and their economies are characterized by uncompromising discipline. In those societies, on the other hand, where civil rights, human rights and political rights are restricted, people tend to reclaim their freedom in the production process, by hindering performance, causing the disintegration of economic organizations, and destroying cooperation; solidarity among the people disappears, and social unity is maintained solely by an endless number of arbitrarily changeable bureaucratic, so-called regulators or directives.

Getting back, therefore, to the superstition regarding the advantages of dictatorship, I wish to point out that in our country a dictatorial turnabout would mean nothing less than a return to arbitrary rule and capricious decisions, and the restoration of the Stalinist structure; consequently, we would end up at exactly the pointe we should have gotten away from a long time ago.

There is still another superstition, the destructive effects of which have not really been assessed by anyone, and it goes like this: Let us leave history alone, let us not waste our energies and spend our time in vain on digging up the past and thereby dividing society. Many of those who subscribe to this view, also consider themselves Marxists. I suspect that those who think along these lines know as much about Marx as those about Balzac who have only read the pictorial adaptations of his works. For if there is one thing that will survive from Marx's fading humanistic writings, it is his view of history and his important idea that the essence of everything lies in its history. And those who cannot comprehend why there are cyclical and abrupt calls in the Stalinist structure for the settlement of historical accounts, also know nothing about that structure. For a political system which is able to absorb the economy, is also capable of consuming history. Tyranny as a form of rule only recognizes apologetic and canonized, and usually also falsified, versions of history, even after reassessing the past, or when current events would dictate otherwise. This kind of a quasi-history plays a very important role in the functioning of dictatorships.

Large-scale, after-the-fact settlements of past scores signal either the beginning of a new dictatorship, or a complete break with dictatorship: things that could not be said before at the same time also represent deeds that could not be carried out. Reestablishing the historical truth divests the dictatorship of its identity and the means of preserving its legitimacy, it sheds light on decisions that were never made and the consequences of inaction, and it presents the lessons of arbitrary decisions.

Does the restoration of historical truth divide the nation? No, it does not. What really divides society is the suppression of historical truth. Divisions, of course, are really not new in Hungarian history. It could be argued that such divisions also existed after 1849, during the period of absolutism; but there were also similar divisions after the compromise of 1867 and during the interwar years of the Horthy era. Decency, however, dictates that we point out an important difference between the historical divisions of these periods and the historical schizophrenia of the Stalinist structure. For the disparate historical concepts of the aforementioned periods had existed side by side, but openly within the same realm of publicity. One needs only to recall the aftermath of Haynau's brief reign of terror—which seems like mere rose water splashing in view of the Hungarian experiences of the 20th century—when already during the Bach era, but even more so during the Schmerling provisional period, one was able to openly identify with the 1848-49 revolution and freedom fight, and with similar openness, even to join the passive resistance which eventually forced a compromise. In contrast, within the Stalinist structure only the official view of history was tolerated openly, while the other was forced from the public realm. The people, however, embraced this displaced version as their authentic history, thereby constantly questioning the legitimacy of the system.

It is clear, therefore, that the restoration of historical truth is not just a cultural issue and a reexamination of history, but also a question of politics and legitimacy. At the same time while we are stressing the need for historical settlement and restoration, we must also incessantly and emphatically stress that while there will be a historical settlement, since we are Europeans, there will not be a settlement of past scores. The task of historical analysis is to deduce lessons from the system, not to make scapegoats of the individuals responsible for running the system, as they themselves had been the products of this structure.

For the proponents of historical skepticism, only one more thing: Of course we know that there are perfectly functioning organisms even without a history, and that programmed instincts can help create excellent organizations, as evidenced by the ants and the bees; for human existence, however, the most important elements are collective living and history. A people deprived of its history, or deceived by falsified versions of it, will sink into a world of delusion and transform into a private mob: Through no fault of its own, it will eventually lose its right to be called a people or a nation. Those who want manageable masses instead of sovereign personalities and autonomous communities must first of all divest people of their historical truth and replace it with a distorted view of reality.

Only when we rid ourselves of these superstitions will we be able to understand, only then will it become clear to us why, despite the continuous existence of a Stalinist base structure, the course of Hungarian development during the past 35 years has been so unique. As we discuss that development, we must not forget even for a moment about the decisive international factors that had played such a crucial role at the turn of 1944-45 in determining our future course, and a similarly important role in effecting our loss of direction in 1948-49. Still Hungarian peculiarities can best be understood on Hungarian soil. And however horrible the illegalities, the tyranny and terror were, the lessons to be drawn from Rakosi's reign of terror pertain not only to the kind of blows it had dealt to the workers' movement or to the irreparable damage it caused the country by taking the lives of so many, and by lawlessly vilifying hundreds of thousands of people, but also to how quickly its alien character, its superficiality and impotence were exposed. Since 1953, there has been a relentless struggle in this country—interspersed with civil-war-like situations—aimed at transcending and casting off the Stalinist model, amidst constant attempts to bring back the past.

It was this openness to historical alternatives that has created a new chance for political freedom in Hungary. Our indecision in choosing an alternative for 30 years has had the advantage—despite some sudden standstills and defeats—of allowing the representatives and advocates of change and reform to gradually gain strength, as there was no way any more to fully restore the pre-1956 structure. The Stalinist model in our country was not consistent and coherent enough, hence its crisis and impotence also came to light quickly. Every significant partial accomplishment and value which we can rightly be proud of has come about as a result of the rejection of that model. With some glossing over, these results have been referred to as unique Hungarian characteristics. It is these characteristics and the practical experiences of preparing the reforms that have made it possible, despite the profound social, political and economic crises facing us, and the practically unbearable burdens that have been imposed on the people, for us to still have hope in Hungary that the Stalinist political structure of socialism can be replaced by a new political system based on political freedoms and human rights.

Thanks to intense and successful political struggles, and to the efforts of brave initiators within the party, by 1988-89 the chances for freedom have improved to the point where there is even enough courage to start gradually codifying this freedom. What we have about to emerge is a civilized constitutional state of European caliber. The difficult part, however, is still ahead of us, for while it is impossible to have a free society without legal guarantees, there are additional guarantees needed to ensure that the constitution cannot be violated. Replacing the structure we have lived through with a functioning new one entails far more than just a constitutional change. For potential freedom to become real freedom, property reforms must be accompanied by the emergence of a private or communal form of proprietary self-pride, that will spur sovereign citizens on to restoring their civic society, thereby making it possible for genuine pluralism to thrive and political battles to be fought, and establishing the conditions for a compromise pertaining to the past, the present and the future.

TV Crew Prevented From Transiting Romania

AU0604073389 Budapest MTI in English
1745 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 05/04/1989—A film crew from the foreign affairs editorial department of Hungarian television (MTV), which intended to make a film report in Soviet Moldavia, was not allowed to travel through Romania, not even as transit passengers.

Alajos Chrudinak, foreign affairs editor-in-chief of MTV and leader of the crew, told MTI that he and the crew (director: Miklos Tanos, editor: Peter Horvath, cameraman: Balazs Sara) were declared personae non gratae by the Romanian authorities.

The four-man crew intended to cross Romania officially as transit passengers at 10 a.m. on April 4, on their way to Soviet Moldavia. After waiting for more than an hour at the Romanian border station of Bors, Major Gavril Ardelanu, commander of the frontier station, personally informed the crew of his orders from Bucharest: Alajos Chrudinak is persona non grata in Romania because of his TV programmes criticizing Romanian policy.

The commander then added that not only Mr Chrudinak and his crew, but all staff-members of the foreign affairs editorial department of MTV, are personae non gratae in Romania.

Israeli Minister Present To Launch Air Service

LD2903013689 Budapest MTI in English
1701 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 28 (MTI)—Israeli Minister of Transport Moshe Qatzav held talks with Hungarian Minister of Transport, Telecommunications and Construction Andras Derzsi, on Tuesday [28 March] in Budapest. The sides reviewed transport relations between the two countries, and opportunities to develop cooperation on the basis of the agreement signed on March 1 in Israel.

The Israeli minister is currently in Hungary for the launching of scheduled flights between Budapest and Tel Aviv. From now on, aircraft of the Malev Hungarian airlines and the El Al Israeli airlines will fly the Budapest-Tel Aviv route twice a week.

Roundtable Talks Conclude; Agreements Signed

Stance on Union Pluralism Signed

LD0504184889 Warsaw PAP in English
1738 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—The co-chairmen of the round table team for trade union pluralism signed here today three copies of the "Stance on Trade Union Pluralism" worked out at ten plenary meetings and long discussions of four working groups.

The document was signed by Aleksander Kwasniewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Romuald Sosnowski in the presence of team's members. Present was minister-member of the Council of Ministers responsible for cooperation with labour movement Jozef Oleksy.

The preamble of the document stresses that the introduction of trade union pluralism would create conditions for the national agreement and put an end to the conflict over this problem and at the same time would serve the democratic transformations in the country's public life.

While meeting halfway people's strivings, the implementation of trade union pluralism should secure a more efficient defence of interests of the working people by being conducive to human initiatives and to greater responsibility for the work environment. It should help enhance the value of labour and at the same time support the economic reforms and democratic transformation of the state and favour Poland's social and economic development.

After the signing, the co-chairmen and Minister Oleksy made short declarations of intentions.

I think that we have done a good job for Poland, Tadusz Mazowiecki said. The road to trade union pluralism and for Solidarnosc has been opened up.

What was common for us all, Romuald Sosnowski said, was the matter of Poland and Poles. We are this round table team which managed to reach full consensus for common benefit.

Minister Oleksy expressed hope that the cooperation between trade unions and the new minister would be marked by understanding and the will to seek best common ways and settlements.

I am convinced, Aleksander Kwasniewski said, that we will prove equal to the decisions we signed today, that we will not run short of the goodwill for cooperation and this friendly atmosphere that accompanied our talks. I wish trade union pluralism in Poland may look like that.

Document on Union Pluralism

LD0504224589 Warsaw PAP in English
2158 GMT 5 Apr 89

["Round Table Stand on Union Pluralism (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—Introduction of trade union pluralism will create conditions for national agreement, put an end to the period of a conflict over this problem, and it will also serve democratic transformations in this country's public life.

Realization of trade union pluralism, meeting halfway social aspirations, should secure a more effective protection of employee interests, creating a platform for human initiative and for a greater responsibility for work environment, helping upgrade the value of work. It should also support a sweeping reform of the economy, a democratic restructuring of the state, and contribute to Poland's social and economic development.

Basing on those assumptions the team agreed upon the following:

1. In order to safeguard employees' right to create trade unions and associate within them as they wish, and especially to make it possible for Solidarnosc and other trade union trends to pursue legal activities, the sides deem it necessary to quickly amend the October 8, 1982, law on trade unions as regards:

—A free creation and registration of trade unions, including one-time registration of a nationwide union, as well as a free shaping of trade union organizational structures based on branch, territorial, occupational or other principles, in tune with conventions of the International Labour Organization, especially Conventions No. 87, 98 and 151.

—Determination of principles of cooperation of trade unions in work establishments.

—Equality of all trade unions, especially equal powers for trade unions representing the majority of work establishments.

2. For the same reasons, and especially with a view to legal activity of Solidarnosc of private farmers, the team deems it necessary to draft a separate law on trade unions of private farmers, realizing the principles of trade union pluralism in the countryside.

3. In order to secure a possibility of reinstatement at work of people sacked from their jobs for trade union activities after December 13, 1981, and to restore continuity of work where it was broken as a result of dismissal, a special law will be passed according to which the said persons can report at their respective work

establishments till October 31, 1989 and seek reinstatement in tune with qualifications and occupational experience. A government draft of this law will be worked out after consultation with the sides concerned and filed with the Sejm by April 30, 1989.

4. Regarding trade union property, the team adopted solutions creating necessary material bases for initiating and pursuing union activities in conditions of pluralism.

5. In connection with the enactment of the February 24, 1989 Law on the Welfare Fund for the countryside the team determined that it should be amended. It postulates that the government should urgently draft amendments to this law in consultation with the sides concerned, so that it may be examined by the Sejm in the present term of office.

6. Work will start on further amendments to the law on trade unions, embracing especially regulations concerning collective disputes and the right to strike, as well as the subjective scope of the right to association in trade unions.

The document was signed by co-chairmen of the team Aleksander Kwasniewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Romuald Sosnowski.

Stance on Economic Policy

LD0604014189 Warsaw PAP in English
2232 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—Here is an abridged version of the stance of the "round table" team for economic and social policy, co-chaired by Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski.

Improvement of Market Supply and Living Standard

1. The most important tasks of economic policy this year are:

a) A qualitative and quantitative improvement of the consumer market.
b) Improvement in making purchases in stores and in service enterprises.

2. Supplies of domestic market goods and services will grow, starting this year, at a rate not lower than the growth rate of produced national income. The supply of shoes, clothing and basic durables will increase significantly.

3. A part of the defence industry will be regrouped to produce consumer and supply articles. Still this year this industry will increase supplies for civilian needs by at least 110 billion zloties (in prices of January 1, 1989).

4. The share of the fuel-power and raw materials complex in overall investment outlays will be decreased.

5. Socially unjustified privileges in access to consumer goods which still exist will be eliminated in stages, starting this year.

Curbing inflation and Balancing the Economy

The central budget will be balanced in two, three years. A sharp savings regime will be introduced as regards state expenditures, including those for the administration, the Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Defence so that a significant limitation of budget expenditures take place.

A process will be started this year of covering the state budget deficit from non-inflationary sources, that is from income from the sale and lease of elements of state property: flats, land, stores, production enterprises and ownership shares (stock and the like).

Covering state expenditures by "empty money" will be banned under law as of 1990. Hence, possible budget deficit will not be financed through automatic bank crediting.

Healing the credit-deposit policy will consist in using uniform principles of credit and deposit policy (policy of interest rate inclusive) with regard to all economic units and in ensuring a real value of time deposits and credits.

The sides think it necessary to base the whole economy, including the food one, on market principles. In connection with this, as monopolies and rationing of the means of production are being lifted, prices will be shaped through supply and demand and subsidies will be progressively limited and passed on to consumers.

Counteracting the growing "dolarization" of the economy calls for embarking on both immediate and long-term undertakings, especially withdrawing sales for hard currency in the internal trade of domestic goods and services.

Measures will be undertaken to reach the internal at first and later full convertibility of Polish zloty into foreign currencies. The government will also follow the policy of lowering the free market currency rates at the domestic market.

III. [number as received] Protection of People Against Inflation Effects and Economy Balancing

Most of the items in this chapter run counter with the opinion represented by the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] side which, in tune with the resolution of its executive committee, refused to endorse its contents.

Under the present economic situation, the protection of working people against the growth of living costs and balancing of the markets cannot be combined without some problems.

There is agreement concerning the need to introduce mechanisms of universal indexation of the basic earnings and the components of wages. These mechanisms will ensure systematical growth of the components subject to indexation by the percent rate of the growth of retail prices of goods and consumer services multiplied by a correction co-efficient.

Chapter 4 concerns the programme for labour protection and employment. Some items show convergence of standpoints of the opposition-Solidarnosc and OPZZ sides, while the coalition-government side represents a different stance.

Chapter 5 which is titled "The New Economic Order" shows differences between the opposition-Solidarnosc side and the coalition-government side. For example, the opposition-Solidarnosc side wants the elimination of the practice of the so-called "nomenklatura" (recommendation for persons to hold managing posts) in enterprises, while the coalition-government side prefers to reduce the number of posts for which positive recommendation is required as far as access to state secrets is concerned.

VI. Overcoming the Debt Barrier

A common aim of the round table participants is to cure the national economy and link it closer with the world economy. The to-date level of debt servicing is turning into a barrier to development, it largely chokes external supplies and investment imports, and limits competition.

The pro-export economic policy will be intensified and the structure of exports and imports will be rationalised thanks to the new economic order.

On the part of Poland's foreign partners we expect understanding and concrete support for the turnpoint taking place in our country in all fields of public life. The process of changes would be particularly helped by the creditors' recognition of a close relation between the way of rescheduling the payments of liabilities and the size of interest rates and the pace of recovery in Polish economy. Also, it would be helped by the restoration of normal financial-crediting conditions, and improvement of the trade relations with Western countries.

An IMF adjustment programme or some other programme agreed with international finance institutions and creditors could be a basis for normalizing financial relations with the West. Such a programme should not lead to the slump in consumption per capita but it even should ensure an average annual growth of consumption of about 2 percent.

Poland's indebtedness to the USSR also poses a serious problem. It is found purposeful to continue talks with Soviet authorities on the rescheduling of due repayments for the years after 1995.

The solving of Poland's debt problem is one of the conditions of building prosperity and stability of the whole of Europe. Ideas and concepts put forth by prominent figures of Western Europe are regarded by us as an expression of strivings to develop all-round cooperation of all states of our continent, including between Poland and the EC and Scandinavian states.

The implementation of the programme of arrangements of the round table will make it possible to launch joint actions in the international arena in order to overcome the barrier of debts, and to increase the role and position of Polish economy in the world.

The team for economy and social policy has examined and adopted as documents of equal importance to that of the present stand, arrangement worked out by the subteams for: mining, agriculture, ecology, housing policy, health, science, education and technological progress (in parts related to economic questions). The team has acquainted itself with the state of final arrangements and indicated differences.

Stance on Political Reform

LD0504223189 Warsaw PAP in English 2135 GMT 5 Apr 89

["Round Table Stance on Political Reforms (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—After years of the economic crisis and political conflicts, Poland is facing a great threat but also a great chance. The threat of the deepening crisis is real but there is however a chance to overcome it through the radical reform of the state and the simultaneous restructuring of the economic system. In defence against the crisis and in actions in favour of the reforms poles can and should reach an agreement.

A political compromise of various forces will help materialize the common target: the independent, sovereign, secured by equal alliances, democratic and economically strong Poland.

The foundation for the agreement are the principles of the future political system stemming from the inalienable right of citizens to live in a state that fully implements nation's sovereignty. This means:

—Political pluralism that finds its reflection above all in the right to freely set up associations, within the democratic constitutional order, of political, social and labour character,

—the freedom of speech, this including the creating of real possibilities of access to all mass media to different political forces,

—the democratic course of appointing all representative bodies of the state authority so that the voters be the ones to decide who is to wield power,

—independence of courts and their statutory right to control other bodies set up to guard the law-abidingness and public order,

—a territorial self-government strong through its rights and chosen in free elections.

The sides stated that such rules should map out the further political evolution and declared their support for them.

An important stage in the political evolution are changes made already now: the implementation of the principle of trade union and social pluralism (including the legal activities of NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarnosc, NSZZ Solidarnosc and Private Farmers, and the legalisation of NZS [Independent Students Union]), the recognition of the opposition's right to legal activities, the new law on associations, the beginning of reforms in the law and courts of law, expansion of the freedom of expresson, and a considerable democratisation of the elections to represent organs. This year's elections will choose the Sejm and Senate in which various political forces will share decisions concerning the future of the state.

This is the beginning of the road to parliamentary democracy. The task of the parliament elected in this year's election is to produce a new, democratic constitution and a new democratic election law. The sides will do all they can to have the next parliament fully determined by the will of the electorate.

Poland is a common home of all citizens. We agree that all the national minorities living in Poland have full rights. We are aware of the responsibility for maintaining and developing the links with all compatriots and persons of Polish lineage residing abroad in the East and West alike.

The basis for bringing democracy in the structures of all levels of the state will be provided by the separation of power into the legislature, executive, and judicature.

We disagree on many questions. We speak of that openly in the agreement being signed at the round table. We have, however, a common willingness to act in a way that will give Poland a democratic and efficient organisation of the state life, prevent the attempts to hamper and reverse the democratic changes.

The elections to the Sejm and Senate in 1989 will be held according to the following procedure:

All procedures of screening candidates which are not part of the elections are cancelled. The number of candidates for each deputy mandate and candidates for senators is unrestricted depending solely on the number of correctly made nominations.

The right to nominate candidates is given not only to the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], UPP [United Peasants Party], DP [Democratic Party], PAX [Catholic Association], UCHS [expansion unknown] but also to every independent group of 3,000 or more citizens.

To be registered as candidate for a senator, whichever party or group makes the nomination, he needs a motion signed by 3,000 voters from a given province. The elections for the Senate choose 2 senators from each province but 3 from the Metropolitan Province of Warsaw and the Province of Katowice.

In the first round of Sejm elections candidates for each mandate are put on separate voting cards in alphabetical order. The voter is given the number of cards equal to the number of mandates in his election district and he crosses out all candidates except the one to whom he gives his vote.

In the elections for the Senate all the candidates from a given district are listed on one voting card on which the voter crosses all except persons he votes for.

The freedom of the elections to the 10th Sejm will be limited by the allocation of mandates agreed upon at the round table. The deal concerning the allocation of mandates applies only to the election for the 10th Sejm. It says that 60 per cent of mandates goes to the coalition of the PUWP, UPP, and DP, 5 per cent to the PAX, PZKS, and UCHS. Non-party candidates nominated by independent groups of citizens will compete for 35 percent of the total number of mandates. Part of the coalition's mandates will be given to persons on the nationwide list including up to 10 per cent of the seats in the future Sejm.

The freedom of Senate elections is not restricted by any agreement concerning the allocation of mandates.

The sides signing this agreemeng oblige themselves to maintain their election programs and statements uttered in electoral campaigns within the agreement signed at the round table.

On the first date of elections, posts of deputies or senators go to those who will pick up more than 50 percent of valid votes cast in their electoral districts. If the first voting fails to settle the results, the elections will be carried out on tne second date and the list of candidates will be limited to two per each vacant seat in the Sejm Senate.

Those who receive the greatest number of votes on the first date (two candidates per one seat) enter the second round of elections. The candidates are elected by the majority of votes: The names of candidates are elected by the majority of votes: the names of candidates are put on one ballot which, in the course of elections to the Sejm, is divided into mandates.

The reform of state institutions covers the Sejm, Senate, office of president and courts.

The Sejm remains the supreme authority of legislative power. The Senate, merged with the Sejm into the National Assembly, will elect president of the first term of office by an absolute majority. The candidate for the president may be forwarded by one-fourth of deputies and senators.

The Senate, chosen through the nation's sovereign will, will perform an essential control particularly in the field of human rights and law-abidingness as well as socio-economic life.

The president's term of office will last six years. The president will have vast powers in the field of representation of the state and executive power. The president may refuse to sign a law and return it to the Sejm together with a substantiated motion for re-examination. The Sejm may overrule presidential veto with two-thirds of votes. The presidential acts of essential significance (acts of high public authority), with the execption of implementing acts to powers applying to foreign and defense policy of the state, will require countersignature (confirmation) of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The president may introduce a three-month state of emergency in the case of a threat to the state's security or a natural calamity. It may be extended for another three months only one time, by an agreed resolution of the Sejm and the Senate. The Sejm and the Senate cannot be dissolved during the state of emergency, nor can the Constitution and the electoral law be changed.

The president may dissolve the Sejm if it fails to appoint a government in the course of 3 months, or pass a long-term socio-economic development plan, and if a Sejm law hits out at the president's constitutional prerogatives. After dissolving the parliament the president declares new elections.

Independence of the judiciary will be guarded by the national council of the judiciary.

The document was signed by Bronislaw Geremek on behalf of the Solidarnosc-opposition side and by Janusz Reykowski on behalf of the coalition-government side.

'Text' of Roundtable Communique Read

LD0504210189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1943 GMT 5 Apr 89

["Text" of communique from the final meeting of the roundtable at the palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw, read by Professor Wladyslaw Findeisen, chairman of the proceedings—live]

[Text] The participants in the plenary meeting of the roundtable, on 5 April 1989, accept the decisions adopted in the course of the deliberations of working teams and subteams and express the will to work in solidarity to implement them. The sides participating in the proceedings have decided to appoint a coordinating commission, whose composition will include representatives of forces represented at the roundtable. Among the tasks of the coordinating commission will be an assessment of the implementation of the roundtable decisions, the joint search for solutions in other matters that the sides acknowledge as significant, and the playing of a mediation role in conflict situations. Participants in the roundtable express deep respect and recognition for the effort and work of all persons taking part in the roundtable process. Participants in the deliberations recognize the mission of the roundtable as completed.

Final Day of Talks Described; Participants Speak

LD0604023389 Warsaw PAP in English 0052 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—Following two months of discussion, debates and talks, the second plenary meeting of the "round table" was held today at the palace of the Council of Ministers. This meeting wound up an extremely important stage for the Polish nation and state, for the process of national agreement and social, political and economic reforms.

Czeslaw Kiszczak took the floor to greet the participants in the debates (we are carrying his address separately). Next, Prof. Wladyslaw Findeisen presided over the debates. Lech Walesa delivered a speech afterwards (we are carrying his speech separately).

A break followed these addresses. The participants in the debates held talks, shared impressions and reflections with representatives of the press, radio, television. The break was a protracted one. Why such was the case turned out after Kiszczak resumed the debates. He announced that the break dragged on for procedural reasons. Following working arrangements, I am asking Mr. Bronislaw Geremek to deliver a formal statement, Kiszczak said.

I wish to state that the agreed agenda of our meeting envisaged that following the speeches of the initiators of the round table process, Gen. Kiszczak and Lech Walesa, speeches would be delivered by representatives of political parties, trade unions, and farmers organizations in alphabetical order.

For procedural reasons one should not, in our opinion, do anything which could hamper the political process taking place in the last two months in our country, Geremek said.

The chairman of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] demands to take the floor now, departing from this alphabetical order. We however think that the fate of Poland at this moment requires that we and each group and organization feel the utmost responsibility.

We also have a feeling that there are forces and organizations which do not favour the process begun by our debates. We would not want procedural reasons to waste this phenomenon of basic importance, that is the agreement which was reached by two sides gathered at this table in the name of the national interest. In connection with this we agree to depart from the agreed agenda, Geremek stated.

After Prof. Aleksander Gieysztor took over chairmanship of the debates, the following took the floor: Alfred Miodowicz, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Jan Janowski, Grazyna Staniszewska, Jozef Slisz, Norbert Alekziewicvz, Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, Jan Jozef Szczepanski and Zbigniew Sobotka (we are carrying their addresses separately).

Next Aleksander Gieysztor announced that the list of speakers was complete and proposed that the participating acquaint themselves with the communique agreed upon and signed by the co-hosts of the "round table," Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa. We are carrying the contents of the document separately.

Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, Jan Jozef Szczepanski and Zbigniew Sobotka then took advantage of the opportunity to speak out (we are carrying their addresses separately).

The meeting ended at 22:10 hrs.

Kiszczak Final Speech

LD0504181389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1510 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Speech by Interior Minister General Czeskaw Kiszczak at the final meeting of the roundtable talks at the palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Today we close the many week-long and difficult working deliberations. There has been no lack of differences of opinion, hot polemics, and even severe tensions. This is natural, for we have come to the roundtable from afar and have covered difficult ground. This is all the more reason we must value the accord attained. A truly joint work has been carried out. The achievement is mutual, as is the satisifaction flowing therefrom. It would be bad if speculation appeared about who won and by how much, who lost and by how much. There is only one victor: the nation, our fatherland. Even at the most difficult moments of the deliberations we were accompanied by the hopes of Polish society, of those of our countrymen for whom the past 40 years are almost a whole lifetime, and also of those only just coming into their maturity, for whom the roundtable is the first ABC's of their political culture.

We have not been working in a social vacuum or in elitist isolation. We have reached out for social consultation, we have listened to the voices of our public opinion, and we have read letters and telegrams coming from throughout the country. It transpires that hopes are intertwined with fears, and approval is accompanied by doubts. We have treated great social expectations as a responsibility or simply as a command. It has been fulfilled within the scope of our powers.

Dear countrymen, I cordially thank you for the good wishes and the keen interest in our persistent efforts. We turn to you at the same time, to accept the achievements of the roundtable and to actively support its results. It is precisely this that is most important and decisive for the future. Along with the relief we feel in the moment of ending such responsible work, we are also aware of an enormous burden, since before us is the laborious effort of enforcing the decisions made and implementing the settlements.

As we face millions of Poles from this place today, we have the sense that a chapter in our history is closing and, at the same time, that another chapter is opening. A new historic chance is appearing. The transformations stimulated by the roundtable are bold and unprecedented deeds. Even though they fit within the framework of the international restructuring of socialism, they are original, avant-garde, of a deeply Polish character and theme, and nurtured on the basis of national traditions, experiences, and the vital needs and aspirations of Poles.

We do not begin from nothing. One can try to understand, against the background of the crisis of past days, the political rhetoric which denies this fact, but one must not agree with it. The foundation upon which we are building the future has been created by conscientious effort of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, by Polish minds and hands throughout the 40 years of socialist transformations. Eight years have also gone by for our reforms. We appreciate the refreshing significance of the social upheaval of those days as a protest against the distortions of socialism. We do not deny the actual, reforming potential that Solidarity carried within itself. Above all, we give what is due to the persistent aims and efforts which cleansed and changed the shape of socialism in Poland. They were undertaken—from the ninth extraordinary congress to the resolutions of the 10th Central Committee plenum—by the Polish United Workers Party, finding partnerlike support and creative cooperation from the activity of the United Peasants Party [UPP], the Democratic Party [SD] and—cooperating with us within the framework of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]—associations of Catholics and lay Christians, various organizations, unions, and social forces.

What considerations have caused the new, expanded formula of national agreement to emerge only now? Undoubtedly along the way there were also objective restraints, but the heart of the matter lies in the real,

existing conditions: conflicts and extreme trends. The confrontational character of the contradictions quite simply made an earlier realization of this line impossible.

For years circumstances were not right for a broad, patriotic agreement, fully plurlistic and which, at the same time, would be concordant as far as general principles were concerned. We count on it and hope that it takes shape now as a result of the roundtable debates.

Today, when we propose a concept for change in the composition of the Polish parliament, it is appropriate to respectfully acknowledge the attainment of the eighth and especially the ninth terms of the Sejm in the reformatory ordering of Polish laws. This also prepared the road toward dialogue at the roundtable. To the Sejm, the highest sovereign, we currently present our agreements for acceptance. In a historical evaluation of the roundtable, neither can we omit the efforts of those people of the best patriotic will, civic conscience, and social imagination, who while representing various sides of the dialogue, manifested so much boldness and undertook so many efforts so that it would end successfully. Many decided to take this step, rejecting lack of faith, former resentment, and hurtful and painful feelings. This deserves to be remembered well, and with sincere recognition.

Finally, one must note here the extent of goodwill and conciliation in the activities of the church. Its authorities and representatives sitting among us were not only well-disposed observers of the roundtable but actively, jointly created its atmosphere and achievements. Through the combined effort and will of all the joint creators, participants, and supporters of our dialogue, the most difficult problem of the last few years, the social and psychological tearing apart of the nation, the painful conflict that consumed not a modest part of our combined energy, may be overcome.

Ladies and gentlemen, we address the future. In it we must find the appropriate answer to our national dilemma. Together we have sketched a vision of the reformed sociopolitical system whose base is a civic society [spoleczenstwo obywatelskie], a state of socialist parliamentary democracy. The directions of transformations, the road for which we are indicating today, should be brought into existence in an evolutionary way, in accordance with the national raison d'etat [racja stanu]. Actions that are too sudden could lead to destablization, a strike at state security, or at the calm of each Polish home. Simultaneously, the implementation of the reforms should not be and will not be delayed, slowed down. Poles do not have the time and do not want to wait. In our situation, both the conviction that everything [correcting himself] that one can rule in the old way, and the naive imagination that everything can be started anew are utopic.

Political reforms provide a great opportunity for Poland to become normal, with lasting social peace in conditions of a nonconfrontational variety and individuality, thus allowing us to proceed together when matters at issue are common amd most important for all citizens.

At the roundtable we have also prepared a social consensus on the consolidation of a new, reformed economic order. It was a struggle with a particularly complex issue. We were able to establish a list of problems demanding solution fairly quickly. It was much more difficult to agree on how to implement them and how to reconcile increase of economic efficiency with growing social demands.

Compromises and partial solutions in the economy are,unfortunately, expensive. They complicate and extend the time it takes to come out of the crisis. The economy is the subject of severe rules of economic calculations; its improvement depends on making it subject to rules of a high-efficiency balance and the overcoming of inflation.

At the same time we wish to reduce the social costs of the operation. Principles of social justice in the socialist state remain as program indicators, and as a duty to achieve. This applies particularly to improving the living conditions of residents of Polish towns and villages, to making their work justly remunerative, ensuring honest earnings.

We also cannot forget about people who have become very poor through no fault of their own, or those who have fallen on hard times. We aim to improve the situation of many pensioners, labor veterans, those who toiled for Poland all their lives, and those who deserve to live decently in their old age.

There is also a wish to alleviate the burden of Polish women, mothers, and wives, on whose shoulders rest the greatest burdens and inconveniences of today's economic conditions. With economic development in mind, we have jointly considered it necessary to increase efforts to overcome the debt barrier. We stress with appreciation the declaration of readiness by the opposition and Solidarity side to join in concerted cooperation in the international arena for the normalization of financial and economic relations between Poland and the West. We will see how successful these efforts will be. How far will the West fulfill its past announcements?

We have agreed on a specific obligation regarding the amicable settlement of disputes and social conflicts, in the most vital interests of the country. We are also aware that it is not easy to avoid them completely. What is also important, however, is that they not threaten the transformation process, that they not disturb public order or paralyze economic efforts, that they not push the country into confusion and anarchy.

We are, therefore, attaching great significance to this agreement. In certain economic matters differences have not been overcome. We accept that they indicate the directions of further searching and possible future solutions. The results of economic management will decide their pace and scale.

The form of the Polish trade union movement has been delineated at the roundtable. Parallel with the reforming of political structures and of the national economy, a pluralistic horizon will open up for the operation of various trade unions, in particular organizations concentrated in the National Trade Union Confederation; Working Solidarity; the Union of Farmers, agricultural circles, and organizations; Solidarity of Private Farmers, and nonaligned professional associations.

We trust that the common sense and sense of civic responsibility of trade union activists will ensure optimal unity to defend working interests and to respect the interests of the work enterprise, society, and the economy as a whole. With this thought in mind, we have striven to create organizational and legal solutions that are meant to restrict intertrade union conflicts and, in particular, the bidding up of economically irrational demands that are impossible to fulfill. In this capacity, the correct, constructive settlement of relations with the administration and with enterprise workers' self-management, fulfilling an important economic role, is extremely relevant. At the same time, we assumed from the start that the roundtable would not be capable of solving all matters. Some of them will be taken up by the conciliation commission, which will continue the dialogue and cooperation of forces and communities represented at our table.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, comrades and citizens: These are the roundtable settlements in very general terms. The total achievement of the working teams and subteams, written up in a concrete and detailed manner, will be found in its documents, which the public will soon receive.

This wide-ranging documentation constitutes a specific social agreement being made by subjects participating in this momentous act of national dialogue. It is with this intention that we worked; with absolute conviction and, I believe, on behalf of all the participants, I can declare that this agreement aims to uplift Poland, to accelerate its development.

I will quote some words spoken recently by Gen Wojciech Jarzuelski in Katowice: The fate of that which we in Poland were the first to decide on rests on showing that the presence of the opposition in political and social life gives rise not to competition, not to confrontation, but to healthy rivalry, and does not break up but unites and strengthens public energy.

We declare our will to dependably fulfill the agreement that we are symbolically making today. We give them lasting power, in accordance with the old principle: facta sun servanda—that is, agreements place one under obligation.

I believe that this is the will of all the partners, even if we differ in our convictions, our viewpoints, our programs, our slogans and our words. We are, after all, brought closer and united by something which is dearer than anything else: the good of Poland, its sovereignty, its security, its success, and its prosperity. Thus the subject of the transformations that are proceeding in this very direction are jointly agreed upon.

We are creating a new model of political culture. It was given shape by the dialogue around the roundtable. Its participants occasionally said to each other things that were bitter and difficult. However, they were said in a way that recognized the individuality of the partner while at the same time retained the individuality of the speaker.

We tried to do everything in our power to ensure that the talks took place in an atmosphere of goodwill. We patiently explained our reasons. We did not retaliate with accusations even in the most thorny matters. The course of the debates also confirmed that despite imputations, there was artificial directing, artificial uniformity, and the coalition-government side turned out to be at variance with itself and—precisely—pluralistic.

Those taking part in the roundtable, like the entire public, could see for themselves. Many people, in confrontation with concrete explanations, were able to see, better than before, how difficult the solution of some problems is. The full picture cannot always be seen by the uninvolved observer. And the fact that some issues can be resolved only at the expense of others also cannot always be seen. Some differences have remained, but there is nothing unusual in this. There are differences, and they will appear because such is the nature of social life. However, the feeling of coresponsibility for the conducting of affairs should lead to a reduction of differences. It is essential to create successful instruments to overcome contradictions, and not to hide and silence them. The roundtable was the first, very important step toward this. Hence, the dialogue, and democratic culture, reverting to the best tradition, can become a priceless factor in our work.

Esteemed participants in the roundtable, fellow countrymen, at the roundtable the vision of socialist Poland as a state of economic effectiveness, social justice, political democracy, and the rule of law, has gained a clearer shape, as has the idea of Poland as a state which ensures for its citizens free chances for self-realization of their material, intellectual, and cultural aspirations.

In such a Poland there is room for all; for those who being guided by various convictions and motives wish to live and work at home and for the country, and for those who for the past years have been scattered in the world, forming new political and economic emigration.

We wish for them to freely return to their mother country, or while staying abroad maintain cordial links with the country of their fathers. Most of all we desire that chances for the development of young generations of Poles be satisfied as best possible so that they can make their successful future here, between the Bug and Odra Rivers, in their only fatherland.

We wish to make our state permanently stable by way of mechanisms of democracy and self-management, firmly combined with the observance of discipline and civic duty, and also by the consolidation of internal security guarded by the Armed Forces, and internal law an order guarded by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

At the same time we must remember that unforutnately irresponsible and extreme forces operate in our country. They try to upset the dialogue and internal calm and strive for confrontation.

They merit our determined opposition, since only a stable Poland will regain and strengthen its due place in the world, in accordance with the country's potential, our national capabilities and ambitions, and shape its political and economic foreign relations to advantage.

The world regards Polish reforms favorably. We value every sign of understanding, trust, and support. In particular, the goodwill which the allied socialist states, especially the Soviet Union, showed us in difficult moments, are favorably etched in our memory.

In September, 50 years will have passed since the Nazi invasion of Poland, since the cataclysm for which our nation—at the beginning tragically alone—paid an enormous price. Millions of our compatriots lost their lives. Thousands of named and unnamed soliders' graves are scattered throughout the world, in the East and in the West, in the South and in the North. We will not forget this, since those who forget their bad past are condemned to painful experiences anew. In the conditions of today's transformations, the memorable slogan "September—never again, never again war" signifies the drawing of rational conclusions from the experiences of the last half-century. It is they that have molded the Polish reason of state, which has key significance for the fate of our nation.

Life and the future will show how the practical, concrete results of the discussions taking place here over many weeks will turn out. One thing is certain: They have already created valuable political and moral capital, and one more example that, faced with mounting calls when the fatherland is in need, Poles are capable of rising above divisions, differences, and prejudices.

The roundtable has historic dimensions, although in itself it is not a turning point. It signifies, however, the entry onto the path leading to a turning point. Many words were said here, and many words are to be found in the minutes prepared here. But the measure of achievement will be persistent work, consistent implementation of the arrangements undertaken—so, goodwill and facts, facts and once again, facts. We are undertaking this task, this great, historic attempt, aware of the obstacles and dangers that we may encounter, of the enormity of the tasks which no one can implement for us. Poland is watching us. It is for it that we have taken upon ourselves the entire burden of this meeting and coresponsibility for the future course of the state's affairs. Poland will evaluate whether we can rise to this task. Thank you.

Walesa Final Speech

LD0504180289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1540 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Speech by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa at the final meeting of the roundtable talks at the Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw—live]

[Text] There is no freedom without Solidarity. That is the truth with which we came to the roundtable. In the speech I made at the opening of the deliberations I spoke about the fact that our country is ruined, and that it is hard for working people to live. I said that gnomes are not responsible for this; rather the system, which we did not choose for ourselves, is responsible. We have met at the roundtable with people of this system and have convinced ourselves that they are conscious of this fact. By starting talks with us and giving our uncensored statements access to television, they have given proof of readiness for a radical change of the system. Its basis, as I have reiterated many times, is monopoly, and the very fact of the talks breaks this monopoly.

Nine weeks of talks about the most important matters of our fatherland have allowed us to come to the conviction that in the situation in which we find ourselves, there is now no talk of trade between different sides, but only of the great risk that is shared by everyone who feels responsible for Poland. Either we can as a nation peacefully build an independent, sovereign, secure Poland with equal alliances, or we will sink in a chaos of demagogery; consequently civil war, in which there will be no victors, will break out. Speaking of an independent Poland, I have cited here a fragment of the political agreement made at the roundtable. The fact that we can today jointly write down words with the authorities that one has hitherto only read in the underground press arouses hope. It is accompanied by one concern, that our accord will be limited to noble words.

Our unease cannot be surprising. We came to the table from prisons, from under the truncheons of riot police, with the still fresh memory of those who spilled their blood for Solidarity. After all, this was only a fragment of the history of the last 45 years, full of beautiful words,

behind which there hid the breaking of belief, force, and the helplessness of the nation. That is why in all the commissions of the roundtable we sought concrete decisions that could be carried out immediately, such as the legalization of Solidarity, Farmers Solidarity, the Independent Students Union [NZS]. These postulates were accepted by the government coalition side. We have thereby attained the indispensible minimum to walk on the road of democratic transformations.

In the course of the deliberations, differences of opinion on the matter of the calendar of reforms and political decisions were apparent. We feel that the introduction of the mechanisms of democracy of the widest possible extent has the greatest significanced,and that this can be carried out through immediate decisions, relating to the courts, the mass media, and territorial self-government. On the other hand, changes relating to the central state authorities could be introduced at a later time. The coalition-government side stands on the view that the decisions relating to the central authorities bear a different character, whereas it is appropriate to expect changes in other spheres of public life from the new parliament.

We have agreed to the linking of these points of view. We have gained free elections to the second chamber of parliament, the Senate. At the same time, we have expressed the will that all limitations of democracy have a unique character and that the next elections must be completely democratic. The coalition-government side has made the same declaration. In all the roundtable commissions part of our postulates were accepted and directed for implementation. The implementation of part of them was deferred until later. A not insignificant part finds itself in the protocol of differences. Of the latter, the most important is the postulate for the liquidation of the nomenklatura.

I am aware that the authorities are entering onto this road slowly and with resistance. I am convinced that radical steps are necessary in this matter. The point is not to deprive anyone of their sinecure, but to see that the filling of sinecures rests solely on professional qualifications and moral criteria. Liquidating the nomenklatura and fulfilling all or other postulates in the area of political, social, economic pluralism, the rights of the courts, and of territorial self-management, constitute the indispensable conditions for the construction of a democratic order in Poland. The construction of this order depends on social activism, the strength and intelligence of the independent self-governing trade union, Solidarity, Farmers Solidarity, the NSZ, and all other associations and groups, and on how Polish society takes advantage of the opportunity created by the upcoming elections. It is up to us as citizens to see that there is sufficiently strong and effective social representation, in the Sejm and in the Senate, in order to control the executive authorities and influence the new Constitution and other laws.

Solidarity always declared the necessity of civil responsibility for the fate of the country. In this way we find common language with oppositional political groups, social milieux, and organizations. In this way we confer together on the repair of the Republic. I must also say, however, that for those, for those about whom I speak today and in whose name I speak, freedom goes together with bread. We are changing the political structures so that my Gdansk shipyard and together with it thousands of factories, metal works, and mines can live with benefit for the country, so that the worker or the farmer, intelligentsia member, or pensioner can live in dignity and without the fearful humiliation of poverty. We want a normal life. The reforms must serve this. Since its birth, Solidarity has expressed itself in favor of a fundamental reconstruction of the economy, for the market, for the independence of enterprises, workers self-management, and equal rights for various forms of ownership. The reconstruction of the economy was taken on rather too late.

We regret the lost years. At the same time, however, as a trade union, directing itself by responsibility for the fate of the country, we must take care that the reconstruction of the economy does not worsen the, in any case, exceptionally difficult living conditions of the people. That is why we express ourselves in favor of the maximum reduction of expenditures on the state administration, armaments, and the apparatus of repression. That is why we have battled out indexation, which means an automatic evening out of wages over the increase of prices. We cannot live in permanent fear before the result of galloping inflation. Fear breeds despair, and this has incalculable consequences.

At the roundtable we sought a method for treating a sick economy, but we also demanded the protection of the existence of our families. Poles are ready for sacrifices for their country, but there are also limits to relinquishment. We are aware that the roundtable deliberations have not fulfilled all expectations. They could not fulfil them. I must stress, however, that for the first time we talked with each other using the force of argument, and not the arguments of force. That is good. This augurs well for the future. I feel that the deliberations of the roundtable can become a start on the road of democracy and a free Poland.

We look with boldness and hope toward the future. For we believe in the words we put on the Gdansk monument. The Lord will give strength to his people, the Lord will give his people the blessing of peace. Thank you.

Miodowicz Final Speech

LD0504201789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1843 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Speech by Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation, at the final meeting of the roundtable at the Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, today we are meeting considerably greater perplexities than at the start of our

debate. Then we had greater hope, and community expectations were greater. It appears that our muddled problems constitute a large knot that is more difficult to undo than it originally seemed.

The roundtable is the beginning of a great process of democratization and deep political, social, and economic transformations. We at the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] supported them. Now begins the most important issue, the implementation. We know what troubles can be connected with it. The situation of the country is difficult; economic disorder, debts, price and income anarchy, inflation, and other disasters are weighing us down.

We will have to accept the fact that some social expectations exceed the ability to satisfy them, but we cannot agree that those who bear the consequences of a bad system and bad policy—consequences that are not of their making—are to be the only ones who pay for their removal. We who were workers for many years know what it means when heavy and poorly paid work has been wasted. We know the perplexities of men who see this and can do nothing about it. Why is it so? This demonstrates the lack of democracy and the monopoly of being right and wise. We can say this holding our head high, because whether one is for democracy is not decided by statements, which have been in abundance recently, but by facts, because evey union activist begins his career at a work enterprise. There, his public mandate is strengthened. He must speak with the voice of his electors. That is why those who give themselves a mandate to represent society often do not understand us and are surprised that we sometimes have different views. Quite simply, it exceeds their imagination that it is possible to live without centralism. It must be this way if we do not want to replace one dictate with another.

The right to differences, to a difference of opinion, is a condition of variety, recently called pluralism. This is the road to normality if we do not tear ourselves out of economic stagnation, if there is a lack of goods; and wages or pensions will not suffice for the majority of Polish families to maintain a minimum standard of living. It cannot be that the majority of Poles are concerned with one thought, how to survive until the first of the month. It is because we do not agree with this that we support a reform that will give work back its value and people back their desire for work and their faith that the future of their families and the whole of our fatherland is in their hands.

Thus, we must break out of an ossified economic system, but not at the expense of working people. No reform, even that which is today proclaimed as radical, will succeed if the ordinary worker does not acknowledge it as his own. When will this happen? When he sees in the reform his chance. That is why we do not believe in the effectiveness of closing enterprises for propaganda purposes, nor a whip in the form of unemployment. We cannot jump from one world to the next overnight. These are bureaucratic daydreams.

The new economic order must be built with the people's support. Once again, we must recall here our economic proposals, including an alternative program of economic reform. Our work force experiences the poor state of the economy very strongly. That is why we support the government's priorities for economic policy. Most pressing is the restoration of the situation in housing construction, health, and environmental protection, because there the worst possible situation exists. We are also in favor of bringing market mechanisms into the food economy. This last aim, however, must be introduced in a particularly circumspect manner.

This is the area that arouses the most emotions; it is an especially sensitive area. That is why all actions must be undertaken in consultation with representatives from the world of labor. The OPZZ would not like for food to become yet another luxury. During the debates of various groups and subgroups, there was no lack of disputes and controversy. As one can see, almost all of them have been solved, though more than once the going was really tough. The conclusion to be drawn from this is completely concurrent with our initial proposal, put forward during the inaugural sitting of the roundtable, when we suggested setting up trade union conciliation councils of working people. More than once in the ongoing debates there was a lack of such a formula for agreeing on stands, so that representatives of various union groups could work together in their own group. Until now, the Solidarity partners have agreed to cooperation in workplaces. That is what the law will record.

On the other hand, the matter of union cooperation at other levels remains an open question: that is on the regional, branch, and national levels. We are ready for an exchange of information and for wide-ranging cooperation with every organization and union trend, since this will serve working people well. We are aware of the fact that this would be cooperation between competitors. Nobody is giving up the struggle for influence among workers crews, although this, of coursek must not set the interests of leaders and their organizations above the interests of workers. One would like it such that various forms of agreement between trade unions and between trade unionists effectively eliminated any battle of invectives and demagoguery and favored political culture in our contacts.

A long and bumpy road still lies ahead of us. Neither of the sides sitting here can single-handedly guarantee the success of our homeland. In order for what we have managed to initially agree upon today to be put into practice, it is essential to keep pubic peace and the cooperation of various social groups, milieux, and political orientations.

The democracy of public life in our country is also to serve the creation of conditions for the implementation of well-organized and thoroughly human labor. This also corresponds with the social teaching of the church. Unfortunately, instead of bringing the joy of creation, work is often the source of humiliation, dissatisfaction, and sometimes even misfortune. If we wish to raise Poland, then this is the first matter we must mutually see to. In this call there is also a chance for us to attain the satisfaction that we, participants in this great national debate, have carried out the roundtable.

Let that which is going on outside the window be a warning to all of us, however. We started the deliberations together with the strike of the miners from Belchatow. We are finishing to the protest of bakers and farmers. Over this period a wave of strikes rolled over the whole country, taking in various branches and work enterprises. Neither did we avoid street demonstrations and disturbances. To the end, it is not clear what awaits us tomorrow. The spring round of price increases begun on April this year might bring about the next wave of social disturbances. We remember that working people, quite independently of us, must somehow defend themselves against the fall in living standards. Everything possible must be done to bring our country out onto the road, the road of decisive progress and development. Thank you very much.

SD's Janowski on Agreement

LD0604025389 Warsaw PAP in English
2315 GMT 5 Apr 89

["Speech by Jan Janowski (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—The Poles have more than once witnessed failure to keep promises. So, let us together do all that the economic agreement signed today be not only on paper. I call for that on behalf of the Democratic Party [SD]. I call but at the same time state that my party will use all the political means available to it to materialize the goals agreed upon today.

We are convinced that there is no reasonable alternative to political and trade union pluralism, to deep democratic changes in public life, to the rule of a just law, to freeing the man from the bureaucratic muzzle of regulations which fetter him, often artificial, invented behind the desk to freeing economy from ideology and the absurdities it creates, to strengthening Poland's position among states with which we are linked by ages-old cultural and civilisational traditions. We have jointly accepted the road of evolutionary achieving those challenging goals, implementing them in the conditions of public order, and here too there is no alternative. Evolutionary does not mean clumsily. In the atmosphere of peace, does not mean without looking at the hands of those who will take decisions on behalf of the people. This is the way we in the Democratic Party understand the social accord signed today.

The agreement signed today may arouse various feelings among members of the Democratic Party. For one thing, satisfaction that so many of our conceptions have been included in it. But for the other, a pity that our identiy is partly blurring.

UPP's Kozakiewicz on Roundtable

LD0604024689 Warsap PAP in English
0004 GMT 6 Apr 89

["Speech by Mikolaj Kozakiewicz (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—I am not concealing that along with all the satisfaction at the fruitfulness of the "round table," the United Peasant Party [UPP] has its doubts and hesitation.

Many matters agreed upon in the field of improving the situation of rural education, health service for the countryside, social insurance for farmers, development of rural infrastructure, trade union pluralism in the countryside, credit policy and the like fully coincide with the views of our party.

Nonetheless, as concerns the paramount matter for agriculture's future, that is the immediate introduction of market to the whole farming and food economy postulated by us, a stance was adopted which departs considerably from our program as concerns the way of implementation, and what follows also the effectiveness of a revival-like impact on the development of production. Instead of a fast and decisive market operation, a gradual and stage-by-stage variant was adopted. Instead of an elimination of subsidies for food by moving them to the wage fund with a view to levelling the increase of market prices for food, subsidies were maintained with the assumption of lowering them gradually at an unspecified date.

The UPP deems as its obligation to inform the public opinion that it considers this result not only as a defeat of its stance but also as arrangements which pose a threat of catastrophe in farming production in the coming years. In reality the way things stand as concerns introducing the market, this is a repetition of the tactics of half-reforms and half-measures used in the whole economy in previous years with well-known consequences.

The signing of the agreement by representatives of the UPP, despite the general reservations as to the way of solving the matter of introducing market to food production is the price which our party has decided to pay politically and morally for the construction of a pro-reformative front in Poland, for the idea of national agreement as well as for the preservation of many valuable principles of the policy towards the countryside and agriculture contained in the full text of the "round table" agreement.

In our view only the future will give an answer to the question of whether what we will sign today will be a really "historic compromise" or a tactical ceasefire and armistice.

The "round table" was a valuable experience because it paved the way towards a completely new type of contacts between the opposition and the governing coalition, contacts in which mutual accusations and total negation were replaced by direct communication, confrontation of force replaced by confrontation of arguments while brutal forcing of solutions to swollen problems was replaced by their negotiation.

Farmers Union Representative Speaks

LD0604033889 Warsaw PAP in English
2310 GMT 5 Apr 89

["Aleksiewicz's Address (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—The National Union of Farmers, circles and organizations which I have the honour to represent welcomes with hope the arrangements of the "round table".

In them we see a chance and beginning of a difficult road leading to necessary political, social and economic transformations. At the same time we remember that various declarations were addressed also to peasants, more frequently than to other socio-professional groups.

We have come near to a time that if we do not firmly push the cart on which Polish agriculture has been riding—for some many years uphill and on bumpy roads—forward together, then this cart will start rolling downhill. And this poses a threat of tragedy. Not for peasants but for the nation.

One must become aware today that no one will win the trust of peasants through empty promises.

The key matter in overcoming the impasse in farming production is restructuring industry in favour of agriculture, demonopolization of the food economy and introducing market principles to this sector.

The tradition of the Polish countryside has deep-rooted self-government, self-organization, self-assistance. That is why we welcome the arrangements which lead to further democratization of social and political life. Our union speaks in favour of increasing the countryside's representation in the Sejm and people's councils of all levels. We are also counting on the problems of the countryside and agriculture being featured prominently in the reformed mass media. There is a new saying that the "round table" is important but a full table, with an abundance of food on it, is at least as important.

Farmers Leader Addresses Roundtable

LD0604032989 Warsaw PAP in English
2330 GMT 5 Apr 89

["Speech by Jozef Slisz (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—We close the round table conference with concrete decisions which allow one to believe that it is going to get better. First of all, we have won the right to legal activity of free trade unions in villages and cities, including our union of Farmers Solidarnosc. We have obtained the right to Solidarnosc of Farmers owing to all our colleagues who for seven years have been fighting for trade union freedoms. Mention is due in particular to those who died for them. We owe a lot to the Catholic Church which accompanied us with its prayer, offered counsel and support.

The agreements we have worked out allow one to hope that they will become a proper instrument in the hands of farmers. If we, farmers start to feel managers of our country a better future of us all will not remain a mere dream.

The opposition has agreed to enter the Sejm. Also we, farmers will put forth our candidates despite that not the whole Sejm but only 35 per cent of its members will be democratically elected.

We hope that the agreement which we are signing here is not a temporary seasonal attempt at democracy. We also hope that our representatives in the Sejm will not share the fate of the deputies of the Polish Peasant's Party of the 1940's and that of their leader Stanislaw Mikolajczyk.

Its high time that agriculture was made the foundation of sound economy—as the Holy Father preaches in the encyclical on human labour. We understand so our service to Poland and we shall be faithful to our duty.

Solidarity's Sila-Nowicki Speaks

LD0604034389 Warsaw PAP in English
0058 GMT 6 Apr 89

["Speech by Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—On the one side of the table sits the party-government coalition representing the state. In fact it represents the state but it must remember that it has not been appointed freely by society and that the essential task of our debates is the rapprochement between state authorities and society.

On the other side, sit the representatives of the opposition—backed up by the framework of Solidarnosc and the special position of its chairman—to which I belong, too. As representatives of the opposition we must remember, however, that we do not make up the entire

Polish opposition and that we do not have a mandate of the entire nation. This imposes on both sides a special duty of being cautious during the debates.

In this situation, we must draw attention to the fact the state authorities are proclaiming the desire to depart, although to a small degree for the time being, from the monopoly on making political decisions.

On our part, we also cannot aim at the monopoly of opposition, the more so as the monopoly of opposition and opposition licensed by the state can easily become part of the establishment in the eyes of society, which would by no means be advantageous to state authority and for us would be an ideological defeat.

If the debates of the round table are to become the beginning and the road to true agreement, and we must hope they are, then, Solidarnosc cannot come back at the cost of halted freedom strivings of the Polish society. It cannot return by way of halting the development of political pluralism in Poland. That is why elections to parliamentary bodies and the election law are a crucial problem here.

Prospects for some substantial improvement have emerged this year and in the light of these debates. Proposals of elections have been put forward, although still far from full democracy, but elections being a step towards democracy and towards honest elections. We, as the opposition side assume a great obligation vis-a-vis the nation, for we are accepting for the first time ever, a certain state of affairs. We had never accepted the elections that were held so far. Now, we are accepting, and we must remember how the society will assess this.

But if the society's assessment will be negative—it will not only be our defeat but also a set-back to the the government side. For it is interested not in conducting yet another elections in a manner known in Poland in the past decades. The point is to convince the Polish society that something is changing radically in this respect. That is why I state that the plan to hold elections in such a time and in such a manner absolutely undermines the society's hopes for a change in political relations as regards political pluralism in Poland.

Therefore, I am saying this: Trade union pluralism, which is emerging, can certainly operate corectly and play its role only when political pluralism exists. Without political pluralism it will have to become distorted.

These elections which cannot yet be fully democratic belong to political pluralism. But may they be honest elections, the first honest elections in decades.

I said at the political "table" and I will repeat it here at the round table. Establishment of a Senate, rules of electing a Senate, establishment of a presidential office, changes in the Constitution are too serious matters to decide them in haste as is the case.

Staniszewska Addresses Roundtable

LD0604030789 Warsaw PAP in English 2320 GMT 5 Apr 89

["Speech by Grazyna Staniszewska (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—I was rather sceptical when taking my seat at the round table. Just like my friends who remained faithful to Solidarnosc, had worked for the underground structures of the union and independent publishing, had been sacked from work and kept in prisons, I was wondering if the intentions of the authorities were sincere. And even now I find it difficult to answer this. But I am convinced that we have no other way, no other way out but compromise. What else could we have? Violence?

Today, after 9 weeks of talks, I think that this is realised also by those with whom we have negotiated. I therefore believe that the documents we are signing today offer a chance to Poles, to those whom I have tried to represent here.

I consider the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] protest against the agreement on indexation, achieved with much effort, as a game planned in advance, as protecting monopoly. This is a game in which the Polish worker is expected to let himself be misled by demagogical shouting about equality, by fresh promises of those who have never behaved as a true trade union during their seven years.

Even now, as Solidarnosc at the round table was demanding that not all the costs of the crisis caused by the system be paid by working people, the OPZZ kept silent or walked out of the conference room. It also walked out when we fought for the liquidation of the nomenklatura, for putting an end to the connections between factory managers and factory party committees, the security service SB, and administration. Instead, the OPZZ leaders are multiplying absurd demands, push for conflicts which create chaos and, in effect, may lead to the repetition of Decmeber 13.

Sobotka Rejects Criticism

LD0604035189 Warsaw PAP in English 0047 GMT 6 Apr 89

["Speech by Zbigniew Sobotka (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—I cannot agree with some phrases used here by Mrs. Staniszewska. I think it is an ordinary case of intolerance. One cannot talk in that way among Poles in such a public place. One cannot attack the other side with such rabidness. Those who sit at the round table and declare good will should simply stick to it. One cannot also claim that a trade union did not do

anything for seven years because it is simply a lie, it is not true. A strike alone, or staging strikes do not mean defending workers' interests.

That is why I think that such phrases cannot be used. And let us notice, please, that something has nevertheless happened in Poland, that there was the 10th PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Plenum, that somebody declared something, that new cards are being revealed after years of decline and new assessments are being accepted, that somebody has extended a hand. I think that the round table should be a summing up of everything that has happened in Poland to-date and that has been very important.

Solidarity Supports Roundtable Results

LD0604010989 Warsaw PAP in English
2235 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—Janusz Onyszkiewicz told journalists at a press conference that a meeting of the Solidarnosc National Executive Commission had been held today.

Participation in the meeting examined hitherto situation and after a discussion they unanimously gave support to Lech Walesa and the Solidarnosc negotiating team as regards the package of agreements that is being adopted. At the same time, the meeting authorized them to sign these documents in the version in which they were finally agreed.

Urban Comments on Roundtable's Conclusion

LD0604035489 Warsaw PAP in English
2327 GMT 5 Apr 89

[By PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, April 5—A few hours before taking a flight from New York to Warsaw following his two-week visit to the United States, Poland's Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban commented for PAP on the news from Poland on the closing of the round-table debates.

I think that it denotes an end to more than a month-long disputes and opens a new period in the history of Poland. It will be a difficult and stormy chapter, a time of tests and mistakes in the practice of pluralism's democracy, new ways of electing authorities, the functioning of new authorities, of articulating in another way the interests of different groups, and of those interests' competition. I do not think it is a festival after which a sunny development will follow. I think that it is the beginning of a difficult road and let us hope that the road will lead to new, better forms of functioning of public life and the state, the spokesman opined.

Poland arouses immense interest. Our country is not frontpaged, which could be expected, partly because when something bad or dramatic happens it deserves to be reported on in America, but when quiet processes and phenomena take place they are considered less newsworthy, Urban said.

On Wednesday night the spokesman set on his way back home.

PLO Office Upgraded, Relations Established

LD0504165489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Apr (TANJUG)—Today Yugoslavia and the Palestinian state established diplomatic relations at the embassy level and notes were exchanged on this in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

In keeping with this, the former PLO representative office in Belgrade is acquiring the status of embassy of the Palestinian state to the SFRY. The Yugoslav Embassy in Tunisia will also be the SFRY's authorized representative office for Palestine.

Belgrade Radio Reports Gorbachev Havana Speech

AU0504163089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Here are the main points from the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, head of the Soviet state and party, to the deputies of the Cuban National Assembly and to the international public, which we have received through TANJUG from Havana:

I oppose any theory of exports of revolution, counterrevolution, or hegemony, Gorbachev said. He proposed to the international community that it adopt a philosophy of solidarity of mankind on the foundations of respect for the security of every country. It is the right of every socialist country to solve its internal problems on the basis of its own experience, the Soviet leaders stressed. He noted that the authority and the development of socialism in the world depend on the success of perestroyka.

Moscow does not demand any political or military strategic advantages in the Western hemisphere, Gorbachev added. He assessed that Latin American soil should not be a scene of clashes between the East and the West.

Dizdarevic To Visit CSSR 'Mid-April'

LD0504174189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1637 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Apr (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, will pay an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia in mid-April at the invitation of Gustav Husak, president of Czechoslovakia.

Social Council Member on Post of President

AU0504134489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1-2 Apr 89 p 17

[Speech by Mihajlo Javorski at the session of the Federal Social Council for International Relations held on 9 March: "I Vote for the President of the Republic"]

[Text] I read the report which was presented to us by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs for today's session very carefully. I am one of those people who assess this report as valuable, as it is based on a comprehensive analysis with conclusions that are offered to us, and on the basis of which discussions can be held, views exchanged, and matters can really be looked at. I am actually speaking because of this, because I was one of those who a few years ago analyzed with great concern the papers that were presented to us by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs for sessions of this council and meetings in other places, in the Committee for Foreign Policy, and so on. A petrified vocabulary increasingly prevailed, which included assessments and phrases adopted long ago which had lost their meaning, on the basis of which it could be concluded that something was beginning to weaken even in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, both in the institution and in our foreign policy and its operation.

Apart from perhaps some comments and questions which could be asked in connection with this report, it is on the whole a valuable and very useful document. What does it show?

First, that Yugoslavia's foreign policy was for many years not only correct and justified but, that it corresponded closely to the interests of this country and its peoples and fought for the right things, looked ahead, anticipated, and greatly contributed to all positive changes and tendencies in the development of international relations. This same policy is still in existence in the present process of the positive development of the world, even though the world no longer recognizes this of us.

Second, that the current international situation and trend in the development of international relations correspond to the real interests of Yugoslavia. That our country is less threatened by the rest of the world than ever before, that the current international situation is to the advantage of our country and to the surmounting of the existing economic, social, political, and especially international problems, as well as the difficulties that are holding us back and tormenting us.

Third, that the current occurrences of distrust, republican divisions, national disunity and quarrels, homogenization, and the domination of the irrational and unscientific in projecting the past into the present, and all the things that accompany this and do not contribute to a real solution to the economic and political problems of our country, but limit freedom and threaten the personality of the individual, and hinder the struggle for a real—the widest and most contemporary—democracy and socialism in our country, are appearing in our country and manifesting themselves as phenomena which are in contradiction to the general climate and trends in the development of the world and international relations as a whole.

Fourth, the report shows that the question of whether one or the other bloc or our neighbors will decide to interfere in our domestic affairs and to use the existing situation and difficulties to our detriment and in their own interests depends on us.

Fifth, although we are to a great extent adopting all the assessments and conclusions in the report by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, I think that we should not simply accept the view that in regard to the new situation in international relations, this involves a permanent abandonment of the cold war. I am not saying that this document expressly supports this, but it places a question mark above it.

This means that in the time of Brezhnev and under the influence of Kissinger, we prematurely accepted the concept of detente as a long-term and inexorable process. Soon afterward, disappointment arose and distrust and rivalry increased among the blocs, which lasted for a long time. We did not bear in mind the fact that detente on the fringe of but still in the framework of the cold war was the lowest level in the improvement of international relations, and that there was still a long way to go to reach peaceful coexistence, trust, and all-round international cooperation. I will also recall that we did not perceive the present positive process in the development of international relations in time, so that we maintained that the international situation in general and in relation to the SFRY was difficult and full of dangers, even when that was no longer the case.

The truth is that when it comes to security and the awareness of the need for new economic, political, cultural, and international cooperation, we are now talking about deeper, interdependent, objectively conditional processes which have emerged from the changed situation. Nevertheless, I am pointing out the need for alertness and precision in our analyses and judgements, and in this regard, I think that in certain conditions, one should not lose sight of the possibility of a new deterioration in international relations. This, as well as the limits to which this can go, needs to be analyzed.

Sixth, I agree with everything that is said in the report from page 14 onward about the SFRY in its role as host to the ninth conference of the Nonaligned Movement and as coordinator in the years to come.

In order for our country to be able to be at a level of historic responsibility, it is necessary to ensure that in essential internal questions, our domestic situation is sorted out by the end of the year in principled and socialist directions appropriate to Tito and that we again secure at least the most necessary standing and international reputation and trust and influence of Yugoslavia.

If we do not succeed in doing this, I wonder if we will be fit to be hosts and up to the tasks which will be ours after the conference.

This is not impossible. We should contribute to sobering up and establishing trust among our peoples. This should be the task of every Communist, everyone who is for a modern, socialist, and democratic Yugoslavia, who is for the policy of nonalignment, and for whom this self-managing Yugoslavia is their only homeland.

Seventh, I expect that because of this, Markovic's government, if he manages to set one up, will be allowed to do its job in peace at least until the end of the year.

Eighth, what I will say to you now will seem to have nothing to do with this council, but it does concern the subject that we are discussing. I think that it is not good that we are continuing the practice of having 1-year terms of office in the main organs of the federation, which makes the federal leadership weak and practically unknown abroad.

I am for the introduction of the post of president of the Republic. This could contribute to taking discussions on a confederation off the agenda and to a positive calming of the situation in the country as well as to restoring trust in and the reputation of Yugoslavia abroad. This should be a contemporary personality, well known in the national liberation struggle and in postwar development, who would be accepted in a plebiscite by all the peoples of Yugoslavia. This should possibly be a personality already well known outside the territory of Yugoslavia, a personality who the world could accept as a respected worthy person who follows Comrade Tito. Even though Comrade Tito was never a representative of only one of our nations and republics, I think that the choice this time should not fall to Croatia, but to another of our republics, and the most desirable thing, in my opinion, would be for that personality to come from the Socialist Republic of Serbia....

Is what I have said only a utopia—does such a personality exist? I leave that up to you to consider.

FEC President Introduces Cabinet to Diplomats

LD0404184889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—Today Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], introduced all the members of the new government to the heads of the diplomatic missions in Belgrade. The fact that the number of members has been reduced by one-third for the Yugoslav premier guarantees that it will be more efficient in communicating with visitors.

Expressing satisfaction at the fact that all the heads of diplomatic missions without exception responded to his invitations, Markovic spared them the explanation on Yugoslav policy and its strategic orientations.

Instead, he briefed them on the new government's strong determination to not only halt the unfavorable economic and social trends, but to turn them around in the direction of full development and democracy." He noted that the accumulated contradictions cannot be solved in the way that has been attempted so far, and promised to create conditions in which everyone would be motivated to give his full contribution to development.

"I believe that ours is a mixed society," stated the FEC president, stressing that the full use of its qualities require a respect for partial interests and, at the same time, the application of a uniform policy in everyone's interest.

Ante Markovic told the esteemed guests that Yugoslavia has decided in favor of modern development, the applicaiton of all technical and scientific achievements, and the use of all the gains of civilization to the fullest. Such orientations, he noted, derive naturally from its position as a Balkan, Mediterranean, nonaligned, and European country, convinced that it will come even closer to Europe and the world by opening up. He used this position and policy of Yugoslavia to explain its agreement to host the nonaligned summit.

The FEC president did not conceal the fact that the new government is expecting to be faced with serious difficulties. "The essential thing is to know what we want and to be ready to face the difficulties," he stated on behalf of "his team."

The fact that Markovic devoted proportionally little time to the so-called great international politics indicates that he is a man who knows how to recognize priorities. Speaking about it, he restricted himself to the statement that the world had become so small that even the smallest disturbances can be felt everywhere.

In a message to the foreign diplomats that the doors of his government remained ever open to every positive initiative on their part, the FEC president asked them to truthfully interpret Yugoslav policy and events to their own governments.

Markovic's open and extremely optimistic introductory speech was received with apparent sympathy and approval. In reply, Ambassador of Zaire Mapessa L'ongao, doyen of the diplomatic corps in Belgrade, wished successful and fruitful work to the new Yugoslav government. As a representative of developing countries, he did not fail to notice that these countries are exposed to numerous economic and other pressures. The ambassador of Zaire also expressed hope that the North-South dialogue "would not remain a dialogue of the deaf." Finally, he drew attention to great expectations for the forthcoming summit of the nonaligned summit, expressing satisfaction at the fact that Yugoslavia is the host country.

The reception for the heads of diplomatic missions took place in a cordial atmosphere with active discussions, during which ambassadors did not restrain themselves from "bombarding" with questions not just the new premier, but his ministers. If one is to judge from all this, the first official "introduction" between the foreign diplomats in Belgrade and the FEC president fulfilled mutual expectations.

Ljubljana To Establish Yugoslav Alliance

AU0504145889 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 April 89 p 6

[Al. Plavevski report: "A Yugoslav Alliance Is Founded"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 April—Common concern for our homeland, Yugoslavia, is the reason why an Initiative Committee for a Yugoslav Alliance [Inicijativni Odbor Jugoslovenskog Saveza] has been set up in Ljubljana. The common interest of the 10 founders, who have different occupations and beliefs is—as they have written—that the Yugoslav Alliance will become an all-Yugoslav movement of those people who are bothered by raging nationalisms in the entire state. In short, the basic meaning, task, and aim of the Yugoslav Alliance will be to advocate Yugoslavia. The founding meeting is planned in 3 weeks' time in the Spanish Veterans Hall in Ljubljana.

Members of the initiative committee—which include Matjaz Anzur, who is mostly known to the public for his speech at the protest meeting of "southerners" in the Cankar Hall and for the words: "You Serbs are my brothers and that is the way it will stay. Know that there are more Slovenes who think the way I do"—said, among other things:

"The Yugoslav Alliance will in fact put particular stress on Yugoslavism, which is and must become the orientation which will halt nationalist explosions among brothers in Yugoslavia. Therefore, this will be an alliance of those good-willed people who think that nationality, culture, and religious or political beliefs are an intimate decision and basic right of each individual and not the means for all sorts of manipulation by old and new leaders who want to create discord among Yugoslav brothers. We also think that active and friendly cooperation among all Yugoslav peoples in all areas is a prerequisite for and a way of realizing their national and cultural interests. Only on this basis can a firm economic, political, and cultural society be created."

In the principles of the Yugoslav Alliance, which will form the basis of the alliance's program, it is stressed that the new political organization's field of activity includes the entire territory of the Yugoslav state. It will act with regard to the cultural, political, and economic integration of south Slav peoples, coupled with respect for their individual, real, and objective peculiarities. It will advocate the democratic development of Yugoslavia on the principles of a legal state, always in the sense of strengthening Yugoslav statehood. It is also envisaged that there will be a free and equal process of reaching agreement in the Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, and Macedonian languages and by using both alphabets, on the principle that everyone will speak or write their own language and that everyone will understand everyone else.

Presidency Session Examines Kosovo, Conference

LD0504145289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Apr (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency stated today that all the measures undertaken in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo are being implemented and pointed out in particular that the work of all state organs, associated labor organizations, and schools should be normalized as soon as possible, and that there should also be an intensification of united political action by all socialist forces for the renewal of intranational trust. The Presidency also positively assessed the preparations to date for the ninth nonaligned countries conference in September in Belgrade. A statement from the session of the SFRY Presidency says:

The SFRY Presidency, at a session held today, which was presided over by Vice President Stane Dolanc, considered the implementation of the decisions on special measures in the SAP of Kosovo.

On the basis of information from the president of the Federal Executive Council and the federal secretaries for internal affairs, national defense, and foreign affairs, the SFRY Presidency stated that all the measures undertaken are being implemented. In this respect, it pointed out in particular that the work of all state organs, associated labor organizations, schools and other institutions should be normalized as soon as possible in order to ensure the regular functioning of the sociopolitical system and life in this province. It was again pointed out that intensive united political action by all organized socialist forces must be directed toward the renewal of intranational trust, the consistent implementation and strengthening of the equality of all nations and nationalities living in Kosovo for a life together, and the implementation and strengthening of aspirations and interests for the social and material advancement of all citizens, because this is the only path for a permanent resolution of problems in Kosovo.

The SFRY Presidency was also briefed about the course of preparations for the ninth conference of the heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries, which will be held at the beginning of September this year in Belgrade. The SFRY Presidency positively assessed the activities to date of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the other federal organs, as well as those of the sociopolitical communities and work organizations which are directly involved in preparing the conference, and pointed to the need for the preparations to continue to be conducted in good time, in order to ensure the necessary conditions for the successful work of this meeting.

Serbian SAWP Nominates Milosevic for President

AU0504163389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Momcilo Boskovic report]

[Excerpt] The republican nomination conference of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia [SAWP] has unanimously adopted the proposal that Slobodan Milosevic be elected president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Mihalj Kertez, Slobodanka Gruden, and Miroslav Djordjevic were proposed for members of the Presidency of Serbia. Two candidates will be elected. The nomination conference, by secret ballot, adopted a list of five candidates for the three delegates to the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Serbian Assembly.

A regular session of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference, which discussed the work of the Sociopolitical Chamber over the past 1 and ½ years, was subsequently held. Momcilo Boskovic reports in detail:

The suggestion by the Serbian Assembly delegates to propose Slobodan Milosevic for president of the Presidency of Serbia met with general support in the republic, Dragan Milicevic, president of the Cadre Commission and member of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium, said. The decision on Slobodan Milosevic was accompanied by tumultuous applause. Other candidates also obtained unanimous support. The vote was public. Only one vote was cast against the nomination of Slobodanka Gruden.

The list of five candidates for the three delegates in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Serbian Assembly was adopted by a secret ballot of 222 delegates. (Biljana Reljic), who received 212 votes, (?Zoran Sokolovic) with 203 votes, and (Gadim Stefan) with 197 votes were proposed for 2 delegate posts from the delegation of the League of Communists of Serbia. Milomir Bogdanovic, who received 212 votes, and Tomislav Ostojic, with 187 votes, were proposed for 1 delegate post from the delegation of the Serbian Veterans Federation.

Writer Aleksandar Petov said in the discussion that he supports the proposal that Slobodan Milosevic be nominated for president of the Presidency of Serbia, because with his endeavors to return the statehood to Serbia, he gained the trust and respect of the Serbian people. However, he added, Slobodan Milosevic deserves to be elected by citizens of the republics at the general direct elections and should have at least one opposed candidate.

Chairman Bogdan Trifunovic explained that the elections are now conducted under the existing constitutional provisions. However, beginning with the next spring's elections, the president will not be elected by the Presidium, but by the Serbian Assembly. [passage omitted]

Pristina LC Committee Elects Officials

LD0504203689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 5 Apr (TANJUG)—Today Dr Gani Jasari was elected president of the Presidium of the Municipal Committee of the Pristina League of Communists [LC], and Momcilo Trajkovic was elected secretary of this presidium. [passage omitted]

On the basis of criteria for cadre renewal and the separation of party and state functions, the municipal committee today accepted the resignations of Husamedin Azemi and Zivojin Mitrovic from membership in the presidium of the party body. It also accepted the resignations of Daut Jasanica, Bozidar Lazic, Isa Mustafa, Milorad Bigic, Nuhi Ukaj, Fatos Hamza, and Dragisa Murganic from membership of the Municipal Committee of the Pristina LC.

Members of the (Pristina) LC were informed about the current political situation in Pristina. Hajredin Bujupi, head of the Pristina security center, informed them of this and noted that there were no intranational excesses these days in Pristina, but that several fires had broken out. He cited that damage had occurred in three Kosovo power plants, without giving more detailed information about them.

Bujupi warned that Albanian nationalists and separatists now threaten diversions and other things, and underlined that such threats would not pass. Bujupi repeated more extensively what he said yesterday to delegates of the Pristina Municipal Assembly regarding the political situation and destructive demonstrations in the capital of Kosovo at the end of March. [passage omitted]

Today the Municipal Assembly of the (Pristina) LC did not discuss the political situation in the municipality and at Pristina University in more detail, but left these issues for the next session, at which the February strikes and March demonstrations of Albanian nationalists will also be discussed. Today, at the proposal of Novic Jakovljevic, the delegates of the (municipal) committee supported Slobodan Milosevic's candidacy for the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Titova Mitrovica Committee Secretary Resigns

LD0504145689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 5 Apr (TANJUG)—Because of the feeling of objective responsibility for the situation in Titova Mitrovica caused by the November, February and March events in this town, Erhan Corogli, secretary of the municipal committee Presidium of the Titova Mitrovica League of Communists, tendered his irrevocable resignation today at a regular session of this Presidium, presided over by Mehmet Ajeti. The resignation was accepted.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Discusses Congresses

LD0504170889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0953 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 5 April (TANJUG)—Forthcoming congresses of the LC [League of Communists] should create the conditions for a new, better socialism with better prospects, suited to the needs of society, but also to those of the individual. This was stated today at a session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC [Central Committee], which discussed preparations for forthcoming congresses.

The introductory speech was made by Saban Kevric, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC Presidium, who said, among other things, that these congresses must, in content, take a further step forward in formulating the ideological bases for moves toward reform, upon which the basic unity of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslav] will be ensured. He added that there should be places where we can overcome antagonisms, quarrels, divisions, and instances of disintegration which have occurred, and establish a common united LCY policy for a way out of the crisis.

Kevric spoke about the intitiative of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee and its extraordinary conference calling for an LCY extraordinary congress, stressing that the assessments put forward were one-sided, not debated, and "were not a basis upon which it would be possible to prepare an LCY congress." For this reason, he said, the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC Presidium proposes to the Central Committee that the initiative be accepted as legitimate, but that the content and assessments put forward in connection with the holding of a congress not be accepted.

Speaking about the 10th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, scheduled for the end of October or the beginning of November of this year, Kevric said that preparations for the congress should be used for removing the causes of our crisis. Saban Kevric, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC Presidium, said that the basic theme of the congress is radical cadre renewal; he said that electoral activity and reform concerning conditions of social change should be carried out before the congress is held. [passage omitted]

The Bosnia-Hercegvina LC Central Committee adopted several documents concerning the organization of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC congress, including the issue of holding the congress, the manner in which delegates will be elected, the formation of a preparations committee, and the formation of other appropriate commissions.

In the closing speech, Abdulah Mutapcic said that this session only opened a discussion about forthcoming congresses, for which we ourselves must prepare well and take into account a critical assessment of our further development. Preparations and congresses themselves must mark out directions for the ideological and political action of Communists for finding a way out of the crisis, and above all with consolidating unity and togetherness.

Mutapcic then talked about the initiative of the Vojvodina Communists for holding an extraordinary LCY congress, and stressed that this [whether it is going to be an extraordinary congress or not] should be resolved by the statutory

and appropriate commissions of the LCY Central Committee. He added that the initiative is legal, but the content of the congress is too broad. The LCY Central Committee will decide on the content of the congress.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee examined a report on the activities of the LC of this republic aimed at the implementation of the stands of the LCY CC and the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC on the political situation in the republic and the country. In her introductory report, Miomira Tausan, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC Presidium, stressed that these stands gained the full support of the grassroots, and the discussion on them shows that the party membership calls for great leadership unity. In her words, Bosnia-Hercegovina is required to make a greater contribution to efforts to solve the current problems, and there are increasingly frequent demands for not delaying the assessment of some important phenomena and events in the country and the republic. At the same time, Communists are rejecting all attempts at breaking up, jeopardizing, and retailoring Yugoslavia and listing Bosnia-Hercegovina as "western" or "southern" parts, or any divisions on a national basis. [passage omitted] Miomira Tausan went on to speak about numerous reactions of LC organs and members to the speeches by Muhamed Abadzic and Fuad Muhic at the past session of the CC. [passage omitted]

In a lengthy speech, Josic particularly reproached Muhic for attributing Stalinism to Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC CC Presidium, and Muhamed Abadzic for equating all the meetings in the country. According to this, said Josic, the same meetings are organized for the defense of bare lives and for the destruction of Yugoslavia.

Fuad Muhic stood up to speak after Zoran Josic, and said just one sentence: "Is this the CC or a speakers' platform with a specific orientation?".

Dusko Vekic believes that the speeches by Muhic and Abadzic differ from LCY policy, especially the part on "meetings having the same criteria". Ljiljana Jovicic spoke about negative reactions, and Franjo Konzul on responsibility for the spoken word. [passage omitted]

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC adopted a report at the end of today's session on activities for the implementation of the stands of the LCY CC and the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC regarding the political situation in the country and the republic. "The CC also adopted the report entitled "What the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Strives For," which will be published and submitted to every LC member of this republic.

Currency Limitations Lifted for SFRY Tourists

LD0604110589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0931 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—Starting 8 April, there will be no limitation on the amount of hard currency Yugoslavs can take abroad. They will only be asked by a customs official to display a bank receipt for the amount they take abroad. The Federal Executive Council's decision has been passed as a follow-up to its earlier decision to lift the limitations on the maximum amount of hard currency Yugoslav savers have previously been allowed to take from their hard currency accounts.

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